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## ABSTRACT OF REPORT FOR 1851.

The universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade is an object infinitely to be desired, not only on the ground of the misery and crime with which they are always associated, but because they offer the most serious impediments to the progress of an enlightened civilisation, and of a pure Christianity. No one can look over those parts of the world which are desolated by the slave-trade, or where slavery prevails, but must be fully convinced of this, and of his duty earnestly and zealously to promote their removal. Feeling the force of this general remark, the Committee would now proceed to take their annual review of these atrocious evils, and of the efforts which have been made in this and other countries for their extinction.

### SLAVERY.

It was generally anticipated that the noble example set by this country, in 1834, in the emancipation of its enslaved population, then existing in the British colonies, would be rapidly followed in the case of other civilised nations holding slaves; but whilst the friends of human freedom may congratulate themselves that France, Denmark, and Sweden have, by measures more or less perfect, abolished slavery in their several colonial dependencies, it must at the same time be admitted that since that period it has exhibited a manifest tendency to a wider development than ever in the United States, Brazil, and the Spanish colonies.

At the period immediately preceding the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, the slave population of the United States did not exceed 2,250,000, that of Brazil 2,800,000, and that of the Spanish colonies, 750,000, or about 5,800,000 in all. The last census of the United States shows the slave population to be now 3,300,000, with a rapid tendency to increase; and it may be assumed that, looking at the vast importation of African slaves into Brazil and the Spanish colonies,—say one million, during the last sixteen years,—the slave population in the former is now 3,210,000, and in the latter 900,000, or, in all, 7,450,000, being an increase of 1,650,000 slaves, in these three countries; and, we regret to add, 550,000 more than have been emancipated by Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden, altogether. This fact, if unrelieved by others of a more cheering character, would give birth to melancholy forebodings for the future; but the Committee trust in the progress of their Report to show, that, strong as the system of slavery may now appear to be, it is rotten at its base, and must sooner or later give way under the heavy strokes which are directed against it.

### THE SLAVE-TRADE.

According to official reports laid before the British Parliament and the United States Congress, the number of slaves imported into the province of Rio de Janeiro, in 1849, was 45,980; but it is more than probable that this does not comprise the entire number, from the facility with which the slavers elude observation in the more unfrequented places of disembarkation. In transmitting this return, the British consul at Rio says, "During the last few years, those interested in this nefarious trade have so fully provided and organised the means of carrying it on in the neighbouring harbours and creeks, and have so fully secured the no less essential countenance and protection of nearly every Brazilian authority, from the highest to the lowest, that they continue their illegal operations undisguisedly, and quite undaunted by the general outcry now rising in many quarters against the wide-spread demoralisation, and many other national evils inflicted by the illegal and injurious objects to which the slave-dealers, as a body, concentrate, without any check, all their energies and the influence of their wealth."

The number of slaves imported into Bahia during the year was 8,081. The British consul at Para gives it as his opinion, that no slaves were introduced into that province in 1849. The consul at Paraiba says, "I do not know of any contraband slaves having been brought into this province during the year, although the importations to the southward have been on a very extensive scale." The consul from Pernambuco gives lists of vessels, thirteen in number, which departed from that port, in 1849, for the coast of Africa, with cargoes suitable to the slave-trade. The arrivals from Africa he states to have been four, one of which he believes has been engaged in legitimate commerce. There is no report from Rio Grande do Sul, although it is known the slave-trade with that province has been particularly active of late years.

From the report on the Brazilian slave-trade recently laid before the Congress of the United States, it appears that not less than 45,000 negroes had been imported into Brazil during the year 1850; and that by far the larger portion of the traffic is carried on in vessels built in the United States, and under the flag of that country. "If the Brazilian statutes upon this subject," says the American agent, "were faithfully enforced, the slave-trade could not continue. Unfortunately, however, those clothed with their administration and execution, with some honourable exceptions, connive at the traffic, and silently acquiesce in the violation of the laws they are sworn to uphold."

With respect to the influence of the United States flag in the suppression of the slave-trade, the American agent remarks that it "is scarcely felt, except in the support of the slave-dealer—the seizures made by American men-of-war weighing as nothing in the scale with the facilities which our colours afford in the transportation to Africa of goods, slave-crews, and slave-vessels." The reason why the American flag is preferred by the Brazilians in connexion with this inhuman traffic is, that the vessels bearing it cannot be searched by British cruisers; and that were they seized even with full cargoes on board, they could not be detained.

According to the report of the British Commissary Judge residing at the Havana, the number of slaves imported into Cuba, in 1849, was 9,030; namely, Africans, 8,700; and Yucatanese Indians, 330. With respect to the former, this functionary says:—"Of children, there has been a large proportion brought, which appears to me a proof of the low state of the market on the coast of Africa, as the dealers would not have brought them, if they could have obtained others of a better quality." In concluding his remarks, he adds:—"So long as slavery is allowed by law, I cannot imagine, from the character of this people, that they will look to any other means of obtaining labour voluntarily. Whether obtained from Africa, from China, or from Yucatan, they must have it as slave labour; and they feel the advantage of having it so, that they can depend upon its continuance, not to have their crops lost by want of it at the proper time."

It was anticipated that the importation of slaves for the last year, 1850, would be large. No official returns have yet been made, but the Committee have learned, from private sources, that the traffic has been very brisk, and that the present Captain-general, like all his predecessors, with the single exception of General Valdez, is making a large fortune by fees derived from it.

The Committee think it to be premature to make any remarks on the more vigorous policy adopted by the British Government towards Brazil, in relation to the suppression of the slave-trade. Most sincerely will they rejoice whenever the inhuman traffic shall be effectually put down; but they feel persuaded, that no combination of measures, however successful they may be for a time, if they fall short of the abolition of slavery itself, will extirpate the slave-



trade, or be a guarantee against its renewal. To the extinction of slavery, then, should the strenuous efforts of abolitionists be directed, if they would destroy the horrible traffic in human beings which now exists, and perfect their great work.

#### THE LORDS' SECOND REPORT ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the two preceding Reports of the Society, the Committee have given full details of the proceedings of the two houses of Parliament in relation to the suppression of the slave-trade; and showed, that whilst the committees appointed by them had arrived at opposite opinions, in reference to the employment of a squadron of cruisers for its extinction, the facts collected in evidence abundantly bore out the positions taken by the Society, and confirm the soundness of the views it had been led to adopt upon the means to be used to destroy that guilty traffic.

Subsequently to the publication of the Reports referred to, the Select Committee of the Lords have presented another Report on the slave-trade, in which they sum up the evidence submitted to them in the following manner:—

“(1.) The habitual disregard of treaties on this subject with this country on the part of Brazil, and, to a great extent, also, on the part of Spain, appears to be the main hindrance to the suppression of the trade; and to it, therefore, especially, the attention of her Majesty's Ministers and of Parliament should, in our opinion, be directed.

“The suppression of the slave-trade can never be declared impossible to England, until she has, at least, attempted to oblige Brazil to fulfil her treaties.

“A plan for obtaining greater practical efficiency for these treaties has been suggested, which will be found fully detailed in the evidence, and which the Committee consider worthy of the best consideration. Its main feature is the giving, by treaty, to mixed commission courts at Rio and the Havana, power to declare free all slaves brought before them, who shall have been imported after a day to be fixed. There appears to be in Cuba a large, and in Brazil an increasing, party, who might be expected to support this country in requiring and maintaining such a treaty.

“It is also, in our judgment, worthy of consideration whether the three great maritime powers, France, the United States, and Great Britain, could not, at the present time, be brought to combine in joint representations, and, if need be, active measures, for obtaining from Spain and Brazil an actual suppression of this traffic.

“The admission of slave-grown sugar into the markets of Great Britain, which, in the judgment of all the witnesses, is a great and direct stimulus to the slave-trade, seems to require of Great Britain that she should use every effort in her power to prevent so great an evil accruing to Africa from her new commercial policy.

“(2.) The Committee would recommend the consideration of the wisdom of extending further our force and settlements on the coast of Africa; of encouraging the free settlement of Liberia, which secures 350 miles of coast. The Committee have learned with satisfaction, that a treaty has already been entered into with Denmark, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast.

“(3.) Of countenancing the settlement, on different parts of the coast of Africa, of free blacks from our own possessions.

“(4.) Of establishing consular agents on the points of the coast where the slave-trade has been extinguished, and which are best fitted to become emporiums of trade.

“This last recommendation leads them to another. The slave-trade cannot be permanently suppressed by any means which do not at the same time foster a lawful trade, by which the desires of the native chiefs for European goods can be supplied. To promote, therefore, this trade, should be one chief object of our exertions; it appears to be capable of almost unlimited increase. The present great hindrance to its extension is the existence of the slave-trade, which, wherever it continues, renders all security for life and property impossible in Africa; prevents the due cultivation of its most fertile soil, and the consequent increase of lawful commerce. Cotton, and almost all tropical productions, might, it appears, be largely produced in Africa, if this one master-impediment were removed; whilst the habits and inclinations of the Africans are such as would naturally incline them to become an eminently commercial people, and thus at once secure a supply of most important productions for our own markets, and open an unlimited demand for our manufactures. Direct trading establishments should be encouraged, under the protection of every British fort on the coast of Africa. Various important suggestions bearing upon this point will be found in the evidence we have reported.

“(5.) As the maintenance of the cruising squadron on the coast of Africa is, in our judgment, an essential condition towards the success of every other effort, we have paid especial attention to any suggestion made to us for increasing its efficiency, and we would especially report as worthy of attention those which follow.

“The testimony of all witnesses goes to prove that the squadron has never been maintained in the efficiency needful for its full success; and

hence the bravery and skill of our naval officers have been continually thwarted by the insufficiency of the means at their disposal.

“The ships employed have been unfit and ill-equipped for that peculiar service. We would specially recommend that much smaller vessels, victualled on their stations by transports, should be substituted for those now in use. A large proportion of these should be screw steamers, which are peculiarly suited for this service, from their power of ordinary sailing, and of using their steam when extraordinary speed is required. Many of the captured slave vessels might, as has already been done in more than one instance, be fitted up, at a very slight cost, for use among our cruisers. By a judicious adoption of this recommendation, the efficiency of the squadron might, it appears, be doubled at no, or a very slight additional, expense.

“The evidence we have taken would also prove the efficiency of the squadron has been greatly injured by the frequent, though unavoidable, change of its commanding officers, rendering it of the first importance that special instructions, founded on the aggregate experience of all his predecessors, should supply the place of personal acquaintance with the service on the part of each new commodore. Hitherto, no uniform system of operations has ever been laid down to guide those who have assumed the command without any previous knowledge of that peculiar service. Thus, the best system has at no period been acted upon by the whole force employed; and the want of clearly defined objects, and consistency in the mode of action, combined with an insufficient numerical force, composed of vessels not suited to the service, fully accounts for the degree of failure we have encountered. It appears by the concurrent testimony of all the naval witnesses, with perhaps a single exception, that in-shore cruising, directed to prevent the shipment of slaves, is the most effective mode of employing the squadron. We would recommend that the commanding officers on this station should receive from the Admiralty such general instructions as would embody the experience of their predecessors in command.

“It appears to us that the gallantry of our officers and men has been further impeded by uncertainty as to the extent of their powers, and the apprehension of exposing themselves to be harassed afterwards by legal proceedings. We would especially instance the proceedings instituted against the Hon. Captain Denman, for burning the slave barracoons, and the stimulus afterwards given to the trade by the spread of an impression that such a course was illegal. On this head we would recommend—(1.) The giving to our officers more explicit instructions; and (2.) That any practicable legislative measures should be taken to secure them from such legal proceedings.

“We would further recommend that a small force of screw steamers should be stationed on the coast of Brazil, to intercept any vessels which have escaped our cruisers on the coast of Africa.

“The witnesses agree that nothing would more tend to suppress the slave-trade than to render all persons found on board slave ships liable to punishment; and it was suggested to the Committee, by a witness of great authority, that the needful power might be obtained by merely passing an Act of Parliament to that effect, which should save the rights of other nations, by allowing them in all cases to claim their own subjects. The Committee would recommend the consideration of this suggestion.

“We think it further worthy of consideration, whether it is not expedient to alter the system of fixing the amount of prize money by the number of the slaves on board the prizes which are captured by our cruisers, since the tendency of such a system must be to direct the chief attention of our naval officers to the intercepting vessels with slaves on board, rather than to prevent their embarking their cargoes, which is the great object. This, though perhaps inoperative, from the high feelings which animate our naval commanders, is unjust, and opposed to the principles on which prize money is granted, and has exposed our navy to the most unfounded imputations.

“We have taken evidence upon the chief objections urged against our present system, and especially against the maintenance of the squadron. These objections have been—1st, The assertion that the maintenance of the British cruisers enlists the national honour of Brazil against the suppression of the trade. From the best evidence we have been able to collect, we believe that this opinion is wholly unfounded, and that, on the contrary, the anti-slavery party in Brazil, and a large and increasing party in Cuba, are unanimous in desiring the maintenance and success of our cruisers. The second objection we would notice is the assertion that an unrestricted slave-trade would soon extinguish itself, through the fears which would be excited in Brazil and Cuba by an unlimited importation of Africans. This opinion, so far as it applies to Brazil, the great market for slaves, appears to us to be wholly unsustained by the evidence we have taken. The vast tracts of virgin land as yet uncultivated in Brazil, allow of the scattering of an unlimited number of new hands, and it is only the combination of newly-imported Africans which is dreaded. The third objection to which we refer, is the allegation that the existing squadron increases the sufferings of the transported African. Even if this had been established, we do not conceive that it would have been a sufficient reason for withdrawing the squadron, since the sufferings of the



transported Africans, fearful as they are, is the least evil of a system which fills the populous continent of Africa with intestine war, insecurity, and bloodshed. But, further, we cannot conclude, from the evidence before us, that these sufferings are increased by the presence of the British squadron, when compared with the horrors of the middle passage, even under the regulated trade. The presence of the squadron has led to the employment of faster transports; it has greatly increased the value of the living cargoes; and the withdrawal of the cruisers would, in the judgment of some, even of the witnesses most favourable to such a course, lead to the employment of a worse class of vessels than those now used in the trade.

"Finally, we would report, from a full examination of all the evidence brought before us, that in our opinion—

"1. The past efficiency of the cruising squadron has been greatly undervalued.

"2. That its cost has been much exaggerated.

"3. That, with proper precautions, it is not an unhealthy service.

"4. That to withdraw the cruisers in part, and to administer a regulated slave-trade (as has been suggested), would be impossible of execution, no material saving of the cost of the present system, and utterly at variance with every past profession of Great Britain on this subject, since she abolished the British slave-trade.

"5. That against the present cost of the squadron should be set the advantage of nourishing and maintaining a valuable and increasing lawful trade, which must be utterly extirpated if the cruisers were withdrawn, and which might be developed to an unlimited extent if the slave-trade were suppressed.

"6. That to abandon the suppression of the trade, to which, in the face of the whole civilised world, Great Britain is solemnly and repeatedly pledged, would be a fatal blow to her national honour.

"7. That there is every reason to believe that the present system is susceptible of a large and immediate increase of efficiency by the adoption of such improvements as we have recommended; and that if these improvements be adopted, aided by the other measures recommended, there is reason to believe that this great object may be speedily and certainly obtained."

The Report of the Select Committee of the Lords, it will be seen, adds little or nothing to the stock of evidence previously made public, and does not really advance a single step towards the effective solution of the great question submitted to its consideration. The Lords' Committee are of opinion that "the maintenance of the cruising squadron on the coast of Africa, is an essential condition towards the success of every other effort; and consequently, their 'especial attention' was directed to the suggestions made to them for increasing its efficiency." Of course, so far as the question is a professional one, the Committee do not presume to give an opinion upon it; but whatever may have been the causes of failure—whether they have been accidental to this system of suppression, or formed a necessary part of it—the Committee have been justified in stating the fact of its failure, and in directing public attention to a more efficient mode of grappling with this giant iniquity. The mode suggested by the Committee is thus referred to in the Report:—"The suppression of the slave-trade can never be declared impossible to England, until she has at least attempted to oblige Brazil to fulfil her treaties. A plan for obtaining greater practical efficiency for these treaties has been suggested, which will be found fully detailed in the evidence, and which the Committee consider worthy of the best consideration. Its main feature is the giving, by treaty, to the Mixed Commission Courts at Rio and Havana, power to declare free all slaves brought before them, who shall have been imported after a day to be fixed." That day the Committee consider to have been already fixed by treaty, namely, from the period in which it has been illegal, both in Brazil and the Spanish colonies, to import slaves. The right of Great Britain to demand the freedom of all Africans who have been so imported, is undoubted; and they know, both from the testimony of Lord Palmerston and Dr. Lushington, sustained by the evidence of our consular agents and other British functionaries residing in those countries, that if the treaties were properly enforced in this direction, not only the slave-trade, but slavery itself, would disappear; and, of course, the squadron no longer be required for its suppression.

The Committee are not fully aware of the measures which may have been adopted by the Government, during the last two years, to give increased efficiency to the cruising system; but if they may judge from results, they must arrive at a different conclusion to that announced in the Lords' Report. The Report says, "The general tenor of the evidence establishes, beyond all doubt, that the English cruisers have greatly checked and crippled the slave-trade." The Committee think otherwise. The convention between this

country and France, which provided that each power should place a squadron of not less than twenty-six vessels each on the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade, was in full operation in 1846. The British squadron included eight steamers; and no one, they think, will contest the fact, that the period of its greatest efficiency must be reckoned from that time. Now, on consulting the returns laid before Parliament, it appears that the imports of slaves into Brazil and the Spanish colonies, in 1840, was 44,470; in 1841, 27,851; in 1842, 17,350; in 1843, 38,500; in 1844, 36,000; and in 1845, 24,050; but in 1846, notwithstanding the increased force and activity of the squadron, owing to the stimulus given to the slave-trade by our new fiscal arrangements, the number of slaves imported into these countries was 54,300; in 1847, 59,300; in 1848, from 60,000 to 70,000; in 1849, upwards of 65,000; and in 1850, from 50,000 to 55,000. To say, in the face of such facts as these, that "the English cruisers have greatly checked and crippled the slave-trade," appears to them wholly incorrect. The fact is, the movements of the traffic have been regulated mainly by the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe.

In reference to the admission of slave-grown sugars into the British markets, and the increase in the slave-trade which has followed that measure, the Lords' Report deals very gently. It says, "The admission of slave-grown sugar into the markets of Great Britain, which, in the judgment of all the witnesses, is a great and direct stimulus to the slave-trade, seems to require of Great Britain that she should use every effort in her power to prevent so great an evil occurring to Africa from her new commercial policy." It might have been expected that the discovery of this fact would, at once, have led the Lords' Committee to suggest the repeal of a law which had been attended with such disastrous consequences. Looking at the bad faith of the Spanish and Brazilian Governments—the disrespect with which they have been allowed to treat all our remonstrances and protests, until it has become a habit to do so—and the weakness of looking to them any longer for the honourable fulfilment of their treaties, nothing would have been more natural than the recommendation to shut out their produce from our markets, until they had learned to be humane and just.

#### MISSION OF MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND CANDLER.

After an absence of nearly a year, the treasurer of the Society, Geo. W. Alexander, and his companion, John Candler, one of its honorary corresponding members, with their wives, returned to this country from their tour of inspection in the British and Foreign West India colonies, in good health, and possessed of large materials, the result of observation and inquiry, for forming an accurate judgment of their present state and their future prospects. In a series of papers published in the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, in the months of February, March, and April, Messrs. Alexander and Candler have given a condensed report of their visit to the British West Indies in 1850, together with notices of the French and Danish colonies which were comprehended in their tour. The Committee invite attention to these valuable and important papers, but more particularly to their concluding remarks, which contain a summary of the opinions they were led to form, and to the important suggestions which they give for advancing the prosperity, and consolidating the interests of the emancipated colonies.

"At present, we find the free labourers of the British West Indies in a state of comfort that might compare favourably with the working classes of our own country. Judging from the great number of young people, whom we saw in almost every part of our travels, and from the easy circumstances of the peasantry in general, we may safely conclude that there is no longer a decrease of population in our colonies, and that, in some of them, the increase must be considerable. The people do not everywhere inhabit houses sufficiently good or commodious, but a large proportion of the dwellings they occupy are their own; and there are few, indeed, that are not much superior to the wretched slave-cabins of former days. They have an abundance of nutritious food, and their appearance almost universally denotes health, strength, and the enjoyment of a large amount of happiness. They have the port of free men, and contrast, in this respect, very favourably with the serfs of the Danish colonies.

"That the emancipated slaves are not the indolent beings that ignorant, prejudiced, or interested persons are wont to affirm, is proved by the large amount of produce they raise for exportation, in addition to that which they cultivate for their own use. We have seen that the exports of sugar, in producing which the Creole population is assisted by a comparatively small number of foreign immigrants, are nearly or quite three-fourths as large as they were during the period of slavery, although men,



women, and children can no longer be forced to the field with little regard to their ability, and compelled to work by day, and often by night, in the staple manufacture. It is, also, no small proof of industry, that the peasantry have been able to buy tens of thousands of freeholds, and that they have placed upon them nearly an equal number of tenements. The labour necessarily abstracted from the cane fields in building these, as well as the very extended cultivation of provisions, may satisfactorily account for a portion of that which has been withdrawn from the production of sugar.

"We think it creditable, also, to the industry and intelligence of the emancipated labourers, that they have been found willing to work at a very low rate of wages, when this was rendered needful by competition with slave labour on the fruitful soil of Cuba. Thus, too, has it been shown, that there is in freedom a capability of adaptation to circumstances, which its enemies would have regarded as impossible. Who would have dared to predict, a few years ago, that men, who were then slaves in the West Indies, would work industriously, as free men, in some colonies for six-pence, in others for eight-pence, and in others for a shilling a day—a rate of wages little, if at all, exceeding the average cost of slave labour in the same regions! \* \* \* \*

"In estimating the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the negro peasantry since emancipation, disadvantages and advantages must be equally taken into account. It can scarcely be supposed that many of those whose education, when young and enslaved, was wholly neglected, should now apply themselves to letters, although there are not a few pleasing instances of this description. Mental improvement must be principally looked for in those upon whose early years freedom has shone, and many of these have received and are still receiving the benefit of instruction both in day and Sabbath schools. At a period when the value of instruction is generally admitted, this will not be thought a small benefit secured by freedom. In morals there has been much improvement, although the deep-rooted and almost universal profligacy in this respect, during slavery, has left bitter fruits. It is, also, no small disadvantage to the peasantry, as regards purity of character, that a large number of owners and administrators of estates still set them a bad example, although they are less corrupt than formerly. Much attention is paid by the common people to the outward ordinances of religion, and there are no longer the hindrances to an attendance on them that existed during slavery. Many are exemplary in their conduct, and afford much encouragement, and, in some instances, important help to the missionaries by whom they have been instructed. There are persons who were once slaves, and are now pastors of churches, or who are likely soon to fill that responsible office. \* \* \* \*

"The situation of the planters and the results of abolition have, in all respects, been complicated and seriously injured by the Sugar Act of 1846, which admits the produce of slave countries of great fertility into competition with the British colonies. This has not only proved an injury to all classes of the community in our colonial possessions, but has thrown out of cultivation estates in which the soil is not very good, or which are distant from a place of shipment. It has also served to discourage the application of capital in our colonies. Had not this fatal Act been passed, there is much reason to believe, not only that the extent of sugar cultivation would have been now much larger than it is, but that it would have afforded a fair remuneration to all parties engaged in its production. We speak not as Protectionists, but as men who think that the honest and fair cultivator and trader should not be forced into an unequal competition with the dishonest slaveholder, who gives, in return for the labour he exacts, the barest necessities of human existence.

"We cannot enter here at large on the mischievous and cruel effects of immigration in some of the emancipated colonies, where it has discouraged, and extensively displaced native labour, swelled the inmates of gaols and prisons, and emptied their treasuries. Worse than this, the introduction of large numbers of scarcely civilised or of heathen men has seriously impeded the advancement of morality and religion among the new race of free men.

"Notwithstanding, however, the disadvantages which have hindered the full development of the blessings of emancipation; notwithstanding unfavourable seasons and impolitic fiscal regulations; notwithstanding there have been too few men of hopeful, large, active, and intelligent minds, and of devoted Christians, to lead the people in the path of improvement—we rejoice to witness an immense and beneficial change in our West Indian community, as a result of the establishment of freedom. We cherish the hope and belief that this change will be permanent, and that the results will be increasingly satisfactory.

"We have, in the course of our remarks on the separate colonies, as well as in the preceding paragraphs, indicated various causes which have, in our opinion, impeded the prosperity of the emancipated colonies. In conclusion, we would briefly state some of the measures which we believe are required to advance their interests.

"First:—It is very desirable, we think, that the general laws of these colonies should be assimilated, and brought into harmony with the general principles of British law; and, so far as personal rights are concerned, into accordance with the great Act for the abolition of slavery. At pre-

sent, there will be found, on examination, great dissimilarity in the laws in force in the several colonies, and in some of them, enactments at variance with that freedom which all British subjects should enjoy.

"Secondly:—In our judgment, the whole subject of the immigration of labourers should undergo a careful revision, with a view to place the burthen of the expense on those for whose benefit it is intended, and to render it more efficient than it has hitherto been, or indeed can be, under the present harsh and oppressive system.

"Thirdly:—We think that a stipendiary magistracy should be established in all the colonies, possessing competent legal knowledge and ability, armed with powers similar to those possessed by the magistrates in our metropolitan police courts, and who should be entitled, by virtue of their office, to be chairman of the Quarter Sessions. Such an arrangement as this would secure the ends of justice much better than is done at present, and thereby secure a confidence, which is not at present felt, in its impartial administration.

"Fourthly:—We conceive that injustice is done to the intelligent and educated portion of the coloured population, in some of the colonies, by withholding from them places of emolument and honour. Many of these persons are, no doubt, qualified for situations under the Government, requiring the highest qualifications; and were the principle once acted upon of bestowing such offices, without distinction of colour, on really competent and deserving persons, it would have the salutary effect of stimulating those who are now depressed to greater and more general exertion to qualify themselves for the discharge of every duty of citizenship, and remove the discontent which, we fear, is too justly entertained against the partial manner in which patronage is frequently bestowed.

"Fifthly:—As a general rule, we feel it to be indispensable that the common practice of absenteeism should be abandoned, and that a resident proprietary be substituted for it, whose direct and personal interest in the estates, and economical supervision of their management, would cut down expenses to the lowest point consistent with efficiency. Where it is either inconvenient or impossible for proprietors to carry on the cultivation of their estates personally, we think it would be, in most instances, judicious to let on lease or sell them to some of the enterprising men who are found in the colonies, and who might work them to advantage.

"Sixthly:—We would earnestly recommend, under existing circumstances, an Encumbered Estates Act for the colonies. By the enactment of such a measure, large quantities of land, which are now locked up, would be released, and come into the market for sale; and capital, now so much wanted, to extend cultivation, and to pay wages with promptitude and regularity, would then flow into the colonies, and infuse new life into cultivation.

"Seventhly:—We feel that the Government of the mother country owe to the colonies such a modification of the existing Sugar Act as shall prevent the influx into this country of the slave-produced sugars of Brazil and the Spanish colonies, so long as slavery and the slave-trade carried on by them shall exist. We would therefore recommend, as an act of justice to the emancipated colonies, that the duties which will be leviable on Muscovado sugar, the produce of these countries, from and after the 5th of July next, say 14s. per cwt., shall be declared permanent, until they have fully complied with the stipulations of their treaties with this country; and that those to be raised on British plantation sugars shall gradually decrease, to the lowest point consistent with the public interest.

"Lastly:—We deem it needful that a great reduction should be made in the expenses of local government, including a considerable diminution in the salaries of the highest officers of the colonies. These remarks apply equally to the Established churches in the colonies, the support of which imposes a heavy burthen on the community at large, whilst a very small portion of the people desire or profit by their ministrations."

#### COLONIAL LEGISLATION.

The Committee have felt it to be their duty to watch closely the proceedings of the several legislative bodies in the colonies during the past year, and they regret to say, that they can report but little improvement in their acts. There is a constant tendency to harsh legislation, in relation to the labouring class, which can only be counteracted by vigilance at home, and by appeals to the Government to mitigate or to repeal obnoxious laws. However little may be seen as the result of their labours in this sphere of duty, the Committee are satisfied that it is one of the most important that can engage their attention; and they are persuaded that had they not devoted a large measure of attention to it, and to the due administration of justice in the colonies, the emancipated classes and the immigrant labourers would have been in a far worse position than they now are. The abolition of slavery is not the establishment of freedom. This truth the Committee have painfully felt in their contests with the colonial legislatures, and with the Home Government, when either or both have sought to coerce the labour of the people, to inflict upon them heavy and unjust taxation, and to abridge, under various pretexts, their undoubted rights.



## IMMIGRATION.

The absorption of foreign labourers in the British colonies still continues, notwithstanding the accumulated proofs of its costliness, and the failure of all schemes of immigration which have hitherto been adopted.

The number of immigrants introduced into the several colonies from 1834 to 1850, both included, is as follows:—

Mauritius .....	116,461
British Guiana .....	48,884
Trinidad .....	24,409
Jamaica .....	15,777
St. Vincent .....	1,772
Grenada .....	1,737
St. Lucia .....	1,497
Antigua .....	1,138
Dominica .....	808
Nevis .....	427
St. Kitt's .....	237
	<hr/> 213,147 <hr/>

The great mass of these immigrants have been introduced into the colonies at the public expense; they were mostly males of adult age; the disparity of the sexes has been so great as to lead to frightful demoralisation; and yet no vigorous attempt has been made to remedy this sore evil.

To provide this mighty stream of immigrants the colonies have been heavily taxed, and the imperial treasury drawn upon; and, in order to its continuance, the resources of some of these possessions are mortgaged for a long period of years to come, in violation of every principle of a sound political economy, and of a just legislation. But the results of immigration have not, and cannot, answer the expectations of its advocates. Instead of being made auxiliary to it, it has displaced a large amount of native labour; and though it may have benefited particular individuals, yet, viewed on a large scale, and with reference to the general interests of the colonists, it has proved a most injurious speculation. The Committee are not without hopes, however, that if it is to be continued, it will be conducted upon principles more humane and just. To secure this, the Committee have laboured assiduously; and, they have reason to believe, not without effect.

## AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.

Not content with the supplies of liberated Africans obtained from Sierra Leone and St. Helena, the planter-colonists have long wished for permission to obtain labourers from parts of the African coast, not within the jurisdiction of this country. The Committee have steadily resisted the attempts which have grown out of this desire, because they were persuaded that it would give birth to a new slave-traffic, for there is no part of the coast where immigrants could be obtained without purchase, in one form or another. Some three years ago, an attempt was made to procure labourers from the Kroo Coast, but it failed. Another effort was made towards the close of the last year, to obtain a supply of labourers from the native chiefs, but without success. In the report of this transaction it is said,—“Nothing could exceed the exertions of Mr. Fisher,” the emigration agent, “the liberality with which presents were made to various chiefs, or the patience and perseverance with which it was endeavoured to render the scheme successful, and yet it failed altogether.” Adverting to this subject in a recent despatch to the Governor of Jamaica, Lord Grey remarks—“With respect to the introduction of free emigrants from Africa, I concur with the Assembly in thinking that it would be highly beneficial, if it could be accomplished; but you are aware that every endeavour which has hitherto been made to procure free emigrants from Africa has failed; and a report which has very recently reached me of the last attempt, which was made only a few months ago, to obtain emigrants from the Kroo Coast, is not encouraging as to the prospect which exists of greater success attending any further experiments of the same kind.” For the present, therefore, it may be assumed, that no attempt to recruit the population of the colonies by African emigrants will be made; but from the pertinacity of the colonists in matters of this kind, the Committee have reason to fear they will not abandon the scheme, without further trials; indeed, a plan has already been submitted to the Government, which provides, among other things, for the establishment of a depôt on the coast, “as a centre of operations and the residence of an emigration agent,” whose duty it should be “to visit the different villages along the

coast, to cultivate friendly relations with the chiefs and head-men, and to procure from them a number of emigrants, in anticipation of the arrival of a ship for their conveyance to the British colonies.” Put “barracoon” for “depôt,” “slave-dealer” for “emigration agent,” and “slaver” for “ship,” and you have the whole apparatus established for slave-trading, which would result from the adoption of this new plan for obtaining “free African emigrants.”

## AMERICAN IMMIGRATION.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law by the United States Congress has driven a very large number of coloured people, from different free States of the Union, into Canada, and placed many of them in circumstances of great privation and suffering. If any scheme of emigration to Jamaica could be devised, by which they could be relieved, without compromising, in any way, their personal liberty, and which would open to them a field for the useful and profitable employment of their talents and industry, the Committee would hail it with satisfaction. In referring to this important subject, Lord Grey says:—“I have obtained information which tends to confirm the opinion, that there is a reasonable prospect that, if proper arrangements were adopted for the purpose, a large number of immigrants might be obtained from among the coloured and black inhabitants of the United States and Canada. I need hardly observe, that there is no immigration which would be attended with so many advantages as that of the class of persons referred to. These people are, in general, trained labourers, accustomed to the usages of civilised society, and speaking the language of the colony in which it is proposed that they should settle; it is obvious, therefore, how much more useful they would be than a much larger number of the rude inhabitants of Africa, or even the natives of India or China.” Lord Grey proposes that this class of immigrants should be entitled to naturalisation, and placed on an equality with every class of British subjects; and with respect to legislation, he remarks:—

“Great care would be necessary in framing an enactment of this kind, so that on the one hand it might be effectual for its purpose, and on the other it might not press with undue severity on the immigrants, so as to discourage the immigration of the coloured people from the United States and from Canada. This class would not fail speedily to learn from the first immigrants what treatment they had experienced in the colony, and nothing would be so impolitic as to allow this treatment to give just ground for complaint, since this would infallibly put a stop to an immigration which is calculated to be so highly beneficial to the colony, and which, if properly encouraged, is, I believe, capable of being established on a very large scale. I have only to add, on this point, that the objection I have urged to long contracts for labour would not apply to contracts entered into with immigrants thus bound to repay the cost of their introduction into the colony, to give them employment at the full wages of the colony, but with a power reserved to the immigrant of cancelling the engagement at his pleasure, on giving a month's notice of his desire to do so. An assurance of employment on such terms might be necessary to induce the labourer to emigrate, and if the wages agreed upon were such as to make his being discharged a punishment instead of an advantage, while a power was reserved to the master, in the case of misconduct or idleness on the part of the immigrant, to cancel, before a magistrate, this part of the agreement, leaving in full force the engagement to repay the debt contracted by the immigrant.”

## FREE-LABOUR MOVEMENT.

It is most interesting to observe the increased attention which is being paid to this practicable mode of dealing with slavery and the slave-trade at the present time, and how the difficulties which surround it are being gradually removed. To abstain from the use of slave-grown produce, whenever it can be done, is so evident a duty, that few persons are found to dispute it; and could a substitute be found in the productions of free labour for it, there is little doubt that, upon the common principles of humanity, a decided preference would be given to the latter. Many of the ladies of this country, interested in the abolition of slavery, have given a large amount of attention to this subject during the past year, and several free-labour associations have been formed for the purpose of diffusing information, and of inducing the public to substitute the use of free for slave produce. In this effort they have been ably seconded by the labours of the Rev. H. H. Garnett, a coloured minister from the United States. To accomplish the object, however, it is necessary that the supply of free produce should be equal to the demand, that its quality should be equal to slave produce, and that in price it should compete with that, the consumption of which it is meant to supersede.



In relation to cotton, the vast demand for which is the great prop which sustains American slavery, it is satisfactory to know that the merchants and manufacturers of this country are making great efforts to obtain supplies elsewhere than from the United States. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce has now an agent in India making extensive inquiries with a view to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the articles supplied from that country; and efforts are being made in Australia, Port Natal, and at certain points in Western Africa and the British colonies to meet the demand, all of which, with proper encouragement, the Committee are of opinion will be successful. But among the discoveries which are likely to accelerate the downfall of slavery in the United States, they would mention the very important one made by the Chevalier Claussen, of producing from flax an article resembling cotton, and which can be manufactured by cotton machinery into every species of goods, as readily as from American wool. The result of the experiments which have been made shows, that "by the processes of M. Claussen, the cotton manufacturer obtains a fibre capable of being spun and woven in the ordinary cotton machinery, either alone or mixed with cotton in any proportions; the yarns made of which are stronger than cotton, whilst the fibre is produced at less price than cotton or any other filament can be imported at a profit." The Committee cannot but wish that the attempt to bring "British cotton" into competition with American may be attended with the greatest success.

In relation to sugar, the Committee are much pleased to be able to report, that an attempt, on a large scale, is to be made in Ireland, to produce this article from beet-root with every prospect of success. The result of the experiments already undertaken shows, that the *sweetening* quality of beet-root sugar is equal to that of the cane, and that it can be grown at a cost which will enable it to compete successfully with any produced by slave labour.

By these new species of industry and manufactures, the Committee believe that Africa and Ireland will both be greatly benefited—the one by the restriction of the slave-trade, the other by the profitable employment of its people—and thus the general cause of humanity and freedom be advanced. The Committee look upon all efforts of this kind with approval, and heartily wish they may succeed.

#### THE UNITED STATES.

The past year has been one of unusual and painful interest to the anti-slavery cause in the United States; and of unusual activity and antagonism between the friends and the opponents of freedom. It would seem as if the Southern politicians and their Northern allies had put forth their entire strength, to extend and consolidate the hideous system of slavery on the American continent. Not satisfied with the vast and unnatural development of that system, secured by the Missouri compromise, and by the annexation of the immense territory of Texas, they have endeavoured to extend it thence to the Pacific Ocean; but not being able to effect that object, they have, by means of another compromise, torn 95,000 square miles from the territory of New Mexico, and added it to Texas; refused to prohibit the introduction of slavery into New Mexico and Utah; and enacted the atrocious Fugitive Slave Law, which makes it impossible for an escaped slave to find a safe resting-place in any free State, and compels every free citizen to aid in the capture and restoration of such unhappy persons to all the horrors and degradation of their former condition. And this law further enacts that all persons who obstruct its operation, by aiding or sheltering the fugitive slave, shall be subjected to a fine of one thousand dollars and one year's imprisonment. This outrage on conscience, humanity, and religion, whilst it finds numerous abettors among venal and aspiring statesmen, and, the Committee deeply regret to say, among many of the high-placed clergy of different denominations, is resented and denounced, in the spirit of a righteous indignation, by the sounder class of politicians and Christians in the United States. It would be impossible within the compass of this abstract to produce a tithe of the evidence which exists to prove the intense excitement which has been created in the United States by the measures of last year, or the increased abhorrence of slavery to which they have given rise. If, on the one hand, we discover in the proceedings of Congress the strength of the slave-power; on the other, we perceive the purity and strength of the anti-slavery sentiment which prevails among the people. At meetings, both political and religious, too numerous to be recorded, resolutions of the noblest and boldest character have been adopted; and these, we have no doubt, will be followed by corresponding action. The

active friends of the anti-slavery cause are mustering their forces, and, we are persuaded, will make themselves felt, not only in the separate State elections, but in those which more particularly affect the general legislation of the country. Already, the States of New York, Ohio, Vermont, and Massachusetts, have spoken out boldly, and struck terror into the South. Let the other free States speak in similar tones, and the death-knell of slavery will be rung in the United States. It may be comparatively little that the friends of freedom can do in this country in the shape of direct effort, to help those who are nobly battling for the emancipation of three millions of slaves in the United States; but they may depend upon our hearty sympathy and warm co-operation in every suitable and practicable way, in which we can serve the great object they have in view.

The Committee watched with intense interest the proceedings of the United States Congress of last year, which issued in the adoption of the compromise measures, to which reference has already been made; and, on the 1st of November last, issued, through the public press of this country, the judgment they had formed of those measures in the following terms, which they have no doubt expresses the general sentiment of all classes of the community in this country, who feel interested in the freedom of the human race, and whose hearts are not steeled against the cruelties practised on the helpless slave:—

"Resolved,—That this Committee have witnessed with profound regret the Acts of the United State Congress during its last session in relation to slavery, and feel it to be their duty to record their condemnation of the spirit in which they were conceived, the principles on which they are based, and the objects they were intended to accomplish.

"That this Committee more particularly reprobate and denounce the Act for the recapture of fugitive slaves as an outrage upon the dearest rights of humanity, and a daring violation of the laws of God.

"That this Committee deeply sympathise with the coloured population of the United States, in their present most trying and painful circumstances, and would earnestly exhort the friends of freedom throughout the Union to use every legitimate means, in a firm and Christian spirit, to effect the entire and immediate abolition of this most iniquitous law."

The Committee refer to the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, the organ of the Society, for a full, though condensed, history of the proceedings of the United States Congress, relative to slavery; and of the stirring though painful events consequent thereon. Every circumstance of marked importance, which has come to the knowledge of the Committee, has found a place in that periodical, and by that means brought under public attention.

The anticipated arrival of large numbers of Americans to attend the great Exhibition of the arts and industry of various nations, has furnished the Committee with a favourable opportunity of calling upon their countrymen at large, to bear a practical testimony against American slavery. In an address which they have widely circulated, and in a circular letter which they have sent to the various religious bodies and organisations throughout the kingdom, they have called upon them to refuse all American slaveholders, and their abettors, access to their platforms, their pulpits, and to church-fellowship; and to receive with "double honour" all who are faithful to the cause of the oppressed slave, and labour to promote his freedom. It is with sincere satisfaction that the Committee report that the Evangelical Alliance, the Baptist Union, the Congregational Union of England and Wales, many county associations, bodies of ministers, and particular churches, have responded to the call, and have passed resolutions of a suitable character, which the Committee have no doubt will tell on corresponding bodies in the United States. As a specimen of the spirit and sentiment of these resolutions, they give the following, which was passed unanimously, on the 16th of May last, by the Congregational Union, the Rev. John Kelly, of Liverpool, in the chair:—

"That this Assembly, while most anxious to reciprocate sentiments of fraternal regard and unity towards the pastors and churches of the same faith and order as those in connexion with this Union in the United States of America,—more especially towards the descendants of the venerated Pilgrim Fathers in the New England States,—deem it their duty to renew their solemn and indignant protest against slavery as it now exists among the American churches, and, in particular, to express their great surprise and deep sorrow at the conduct of those ministers of various denominations who have given either direct countenance or tacit support to the Fugitive Slave Law, recently passed by the American Legislature, inasmuch as they cannot but regard that wicked and accursed statute as being, in the language of the eminent patriot and philanthropist Judge Jay, 'a palpable violation of the principles of justice, the rights of



humanity, and the religion of Jesus Christ,'—a law to which no one who would obey God rather than man can consistently or righteously submit. And this Assembly would earnestly pray that the Divine Head of the Church, in whom there is neither bond nor free, would open the eyes of all Christian ministers and churches in the United States to the aggravated guilt of participating in the sin of man stealing, or holding their brethren in unjust and cruel bondage—a sin which, in the opinion of this Assembly, raises an insuperable barrier to church-fellowship with them, on the part of all who, in this particular, reverence the authority of God, and respect the inalienable rights of their fellow-men."

The faithful discharge of the duty so powerfully recommended in this resolution will, the Committee believe, prove one of the most effectual means of awakening the attention of the American churches to the great duty of separating themselves from all connexion with the system of slavery, and of leading them to earnest and persevering exertions to promote its removal from their own country, and from the world.

## BRAZIL.

Up to within the last few months it has been the policy and the practice of the Brazilian Government to connive at the continuance of the slave-trade, and of the subordinate authorities in their respective departments to afford the greatest facilities for carrying it on. During the year 1850, 45,000 slaves were imported into the province of Rio de Janeiro alone, and we may probably add, 5,000 more for the other provinces, making an aggregate of 50,000 to meet the demand.

From the operation of certain causes, not easily explained, the slave-trade with Brazil, at least for the present, is greatly reduced; and it is reported, that the Brazilian Government and the Brazilian people, too, have discovered the terrible evils which are associated with the slave-trade, and are determined to effect its extinction. Without scrutinising too closely the motives which may influence them, and sincerely rejoicing in every diminution of the accursed traffic, the Committee are of opinion that there should be no relaxation on the part of the Government and people of this country, in demanding the exact and faithful fulfilment of the treaties for the entire suppression of the slave-trade; and more particularly insisting upon the liberation from slavery of all Africans, and their descendants, who have been illicitly and illegally introduced into the Brazilian empire, contrary to their express stipulations. Let but the Government of that country execute its own laws in this particular, and the slave-trade would no longer be profitable or possible, and slavery itself would rapidly disappear, for it can be proved that the greater part of the slaves in that country now held in bondage are legally entitled to their freedom. Most sincerely will the Committee rejoice to find that the Government of Brazil has determined to vindicate its honour from further reproach, by the exact fulfilment of its obligations to this country, and by making the laws of the empire against the slave-trade everywhere respected.

During the course of the last year, the following law—for the more effectual punishment of parties engaged in the slave-trade—was passed by the Brazilian Legislature:—

"Art. 1. All Brazilian vessels encountered in any parts whatever, and all foreign vessels found in the ports, bays, anchorages, or territorial waters of Brazil, with slaves on board (whose importation is prohibited by the law of the 7th of November, 1831), or having landed any slaves, shall be seized by the public authorities, or vessels of war of Brazil, and considered as importers of slaves. Those vessels which have no slaves on board, nor recently landed any, but which may be found with appearances of being engaged in the slave-trade, shall be seized in like manner, and considered as intending to import slaves.

"Art. 2. The Imperial Government shall designate, by regulations, what circumstances shall be considered a legal presumption that such vessels were intended for the slave-trade.

"Art. 3. The owners, captain or master, mate, and boatswain of the vessel, as likewise the supercargo, shall be considered as principals in the crime of importation. The crew shall be considered accomplices, as also those who shall assist at the landing of any slaves within the Brazilian territories, or shall aid in concealing them from the knowledge of the authorities, or in preventing their capture at sea, or in the act of being landed, when chased.

"Art. 4. The importing of slaves into the territories of the empire shall be considered 'piracy,' and shall be punished by its tribunals with the penalties set forth in the 2nd Article of the law of the 7th of November, 1831. The attempt to import, and complicity, shall be punished agreeably to the rules laid down in the 34th and 35th Articles of the Criminal Code.

"Art. 5. All vessels described in the 1st and 2nd Articles, and all craft

employed in landing, concealing, or escaping of slaves, shall be sold, together with the cargoes found on board them; and the proceeds shall belong to the captors, deducting one-fourth part for the informers, should there be any.

"The Government, on any vessel being condemned as a good prize, shall award the officers and crew of the vessel making the capture, the sum of 40 milreis for each slave taken, to be distributed amongst them according to the laws in force on that subject.

"Art. 6. All slaves captured shall be sent back, at the expense of the Government, to the ports whence they came, or to any port or place out of the empire, which the Government may consider more convenient. Until such re-exportation shall take place, they shall be employed under the protection of the Government, but in no case shall their services be granted to individuals.

"Art. 7. No passport shall be granted to merchant vessels for the ports on the coast of Africa, without the owners and captains, or masters, entering into a bond, not to receive on board any slave whatever, the owner giving security equivalent to the value of the ship and cargo; which security shall not be given up, unless within eighteen months he shall prove that the conditions of the bond have been fully complied with.

"Art. 8. The seizure of all vessels, by virtue of the first and second Articles, and likewise the liberation of all slaves taken on the high seas or on the coast, previous to being landed, in the act of landing, or immediately afterwards, in warehouses, or depôts situated on the coast, or in the harbour, shall be prosecuted and adjudicated, on the first hearing, in the *auditorias* of the navy (the Judge Advocate's Court), and on the second hearing, in the Council of State.

"The Government shall determine, by regulations, the mode of proceeding on the first and second hearings, and may appoint *auditores* (Judge Advocates) in such ports as may be required. The *Juizes de Direito* (magistrates) serving as *auditores* in the respective districts which may be selected for that purpose.

"Art. 9. The *auditores* of the navy shall also be competent to prosecute and adjudicate the culprits mentioned in the 3rd Article of the present law; from their decisions there shall be the same appeal—*relacao*—as in the '*Crimes de responsabilidade*.'

"Those included in the 3rd Article of the law of the 7th of November, 1831, which are not included in the 3rd Article of the present law, shall be prosecuted and adjudicated as heretofore, in the common law courts.

"Palace of the Chamber of Deputies, July 20th, 1850.

"GABRIEL MENDEZ DOS SANTOS, *President*.

"FRANC. DA PAULA CANDIDO, *First Secretary*.

"ANTONIO JOCE MACHUDO, *Second Secretary*."

"As a further item of intelligence, we give the following advertisement from the *Jornal do Comercio*, of the 6th of September last:—

'Society against the Traffic in Africans, and for promoting the Colonisation and Civilisation of the Indigent Population.

'The society, honoured with the imperial approbation of his Majesty the Emperor, under a despatch from his Minister of State, will instal itself solemnly on the seventh of September, at five o'clock, p.m., in the saloon of Floresta, Rua da Ajuda.

'On the part of the provisional president, I invite all the members, and all persons favourable to the ends of the society, to shed a lustre by their presence on this solemn act.

'V. CALDRE DE FIAO, Provisional Secretary.'

"The Brazilian Government, it is said, are determined to carry out fully the law enacted on the 4th of September last, for the suppression of the traffic in slaves; and having received information that the Brazilian brig, *Catao*, was fitting out at St. Catherine's for slave traffic, ordered the Brazilian war steamer, *Golfino*, to seize the vessel and send her to Rio. This was accomplished, and the crew handed over to the authorities there. There was on board a complete supply of arms and ammunition, and every other fitting for a slave voyage."

## SPAIN.

During the last two years the slave-trade with Cuba has increased. The Committee find, by the returns laid before Parliament, the amount of the nefarious traffic, in 1849, was 9,300 slaves; and, from private information, they assume that it could not have been less in 1850. Little doubt can be entertained that the Queen-mother Christina is directly implicated in the slave-trade, and that the present Captain-general is deriving, in the shape of fees, a large fortune from the same source. To show to what extent the Spanish authorities sanction this nefarious traffic, the Committee quote the following paragraph from a despatch of the Commissary-Judge at the Havana, to Lord Palmerston, dated 26th February, 1850. He says:—"I fear that the report is true that the Spanish Government have granted the slave-traders permission to introduce 40,000 slaves into the island, and that the Captain-general has been instructed to connive at the introduction,



allowing him to take the payment of three doubloons, or about £10 per head, for so doing. It is said that this is with the consent of the British Government also, which I only repeat to show how openly the trade is carried on, because people think it could not be so without British permission also. A large number of Bozals are offered about now in the markets; and a respectable American settler has had the warranty given him that a lot of twenty-five he was buying should have permits from the Captain-general to be taken to wherever they might be wanted, without any hindrance or loss. This seems to countenance the reports I have referred to."

## FRANCE.

The Committee have nothing of importance to report in relation to the French colonies. In Martinique, it appears that everything is tranquil and prosperous. In Guadaloupe, owing to political causes, things are not in a satisfactory state. In Bourbon, it is said, that a good understanding exists between the planters and the labourers. In Cayenne, great suffering has been endured in consequence of a violent epidemic which has prevailed and destroyed a number of lives. The Committee would, however, refer to a rumour, which they hope may not be true, that the French Government contemplate a series of restrictive measures to be applied to the colonies. In their judgment, nothing could be more unjust or unwise.

## DENMARK.

It is with much regret that the Committee learn that the emancipated slaves of the Danish colonies are far from enjoying their full rights, and are consequently exposed to much suffering and hardship. The Committee trust this subject will engage the attention of their anti-slavery friends in Denmark, and that a remedy may speedily be applied.

## HOLLAND.

The Committee had hoped that, long before this, effective measures would have been taken by the Netherlands Government for the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. In this they have been disappointed; a series of regulations, however, have been sent to the colonies to mitigate the condition of the slave population; but the Committee are persuaded, from long experience, that any measures short of complete abolition will never greatly benefit them. The axe must be laid at the root of the evil—it must be extirpated, before justice can be done to that long-oppressed and suffering class of our fellow-men.

## PORTUGAL.

In consequence of the unsettled and disturbed state of Portugal, for some time past, no steps, the Committee regret to say, have been taken to secure the abolition of slavery in Portuguese Africa and India. After the expectations raised by the Government for several years past, it is a great disappointment to the Committee not to be able to report that the iniquitous system has at length been terminated in the Portuguese possessions abroad.

## CONCLUSION.

The Committee feel themselves compelled in this abstract to pass over a large amount of information respecting northern and eastern Africa, and various points of the western part of that continent affected by the slave-trade. In the full report, however, of the proceedings of the past year, these and other important matters will receive due attention.

In reviewing the chequered aspect of the anti-slavery cause, during another year, the Committee feel that if there is much to distress, there is also much to cheer the faithful labourers in that cause throughout the world; and believing that the work is not man's but God's, they would commend it anew to the Divine protection and blessing; and urge their fellow-labourers everywhere to increased exertions, satisfied that in the end they shall reap, if they faint not.

## THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE MORNING ADVERTISER."

SIR,—I am unwilling to reply to the articles which have recently appeared in the *Morning Advertiser*, in the spirit of hostility to the Anti-slavery Society in which they appear to have been written. They certainly are of a most provoking character, but remembering the excellent service which the *Morning Advertiser* has rendered, in times past, to the anti-slavery cause, I would write you rather in the spirit of remonstrance than of anger, and entreat you to do justice to yourself, by retracting the charge which you have brought against it.

Amidst the numerous affairs which necessarily engage your attention, it

may be supposed that you have overlooked the various documents of the Society, which have been regularly forwarded to you; and that, misinformed of its proceedings in relation to American slavery, you have been led into error, and have done it injustice in the particular point to which you so forcibly direct public attention.

Without going into an historic defence of the Society's labours to promote the abolition of slavery in the United States, I would remark that it has held two great Anti-slavery Conventions, at which every feature of that gigantic evil has been unveiled, and the whole system of iniquity held up to the indignant reprobation of the civilised world; that it has published a volume entitled "Slavery and the Internal Slave-trade of America," probably the most elaborate treatise on the subject ever presented to the public; an important pamphlet, entitled "The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery," in which the guilty participation of these churches in the sin of slavery is laid bare; another pamphlet, on the iniquitous proceedings of the United States in the conquest and annexation of Texas to the Union, and other minor publications, in which uncompromising hostility to slavery, whether within or without the churches, is boldly avowed, and all fellowship with its abettors openly disclaimed. These publications have been extensively circulated, and I have no doubt have helped to form an intelligent public opinion, and the organised opposition to that atrocious system which now exists. I will say nothing of my own personal efforts, nor of the other agencies employed by the Society to promote its great work, except to remark, that I will suffer no man to question my sincerity or my zeal in the service of the oppressed slave, the world over, without giving him a direct contradiction; and can confidently appeal to those who have known me best during the last twenty years, whether I have not freely devoted head, and heart, and hands to this service of humanity and freedom, and considered myself honoured by so doing. Forgive me this personal reference; it has been wrung from me by your articles.

Those who have read the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for the last twelve years with any attention, will be at no loss to perceive that the Anti-slavery Society has been faithful to its trust, and has discharged its duty, to the best of its ability, in relation to slavery, and the slave-trade in general, and to American slavery in particular.

With respect to the point of bringing the action of the Christian churches in this country to bear on slaveholders and their abettors, I beg to say it has always been an object of deep solicitude to the Society, to induce those churches to exclude from their pulpits and their fellowship all such persons, that they might be ashamed.

In 1840, at the great Anti-slavery Convention, held that year, the Committee of the Society obtained its unanimous concurrence, after an able discussion, to the following resolutions, viz:—

"1. That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this Convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form, or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

"2. That this Convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed in a great degree to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the western world, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion, without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

"3. That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the Gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

"4. That it be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in the name of this Convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various Christian churches throughout the world."

The recommendation contained in the fourth section of the resolution was carefully attended to, and a vast number of circulars, containing the resolutions, were distributed both at home and abroad. It was moved by H. B. Stanton, Esq., of New York, and seconded by Josiah Foster, Esq., of Tottenham, one of the members of the committee, and has been fully acted upon by the Society ever since.

In 1843, at the second Convention, it was deemed necessary to reaffirm the position taken in 1840, on the subject of refusing church-fellowship to slaveholders, when the following resolution, moved by the Rev. John Angell James, of Birmingham, and seconded by the Rev. John



Ritchie, D.D., of Edinburgh, was, after a most important discussion, unanimously adopted, viz. :—

"1. That this Convention hereby declares to the world its deliberate and solemn conviction, that slavery, in whatever form or country it exists, is intrinsically opposed to all natural justice and genuine Christianity; that in proportion as these assert their legitimate vigour and influence in society, it must be destroyed; and that while the Convention deeply deplores the sanction or support still given to it, either overtly or tacitly, by so many churches and religious bodies, especially in the United States, it rejoices in the assurance that so many others are bearing their public and decided testimony against it, refusing to retain in their communion those who, after due admonition, persist in the justification and practice of it.

"2. That encouraged by the progress of earnest sentiment and action on this subject in the churches and religious bodies of America, and other countries, this Convention repeats the testimony of the Convention of 1840; that while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the Gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

"3. That this Convention, while it passes no judgment on the particular forms of action which different friends of the slave in different circumstances may adopt, hereby expresses its cordial sympathy and high admiration of all those who, in a Christian spirit and by Christian methods, are sincerely and earnestly labouring to purify their respective religious connexions from all fellowship with and support of this heinous crime."

In addition to the resolution, an eloquent address to Christians in the United States was adopted, and, together with it, was most extensively circulated both in this country and America.

To pass over the intervening period from that time to the present, I would remark that non-intercourse with slaveholders and their abettors has been the uniform position of the Society and its Committee. And now, Sir, what course have they taken, during the last year and a half, in relation to American slavery? I answer—First, that they have deemed it of so much importance, that more than one-third part of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, their official organ, has been devoted to this single portion of the anti-slavery question; and that if you will consult the leaders, you will find they have spoken in no uncertain manner of the horrible spectacle presented to the civilised and Christian world, of a people professing a pure republicanism, and their reverence for religion, by their representatives in Congress, engaged in extending slavery on the American continent, and in enacting a law for the recapture of slaves which violates every principle of justice and humanity.

Secondly, that at the very earliest period after the Committee had received a copy of the Fugitive Slave Law, and of the final decision of Congress upon the compromise measures proposed by Henry Clay, and sanctioned by Daniel Webster, they published to the world their deliberate judgment of the same, in the following resolutions, which were adopted on the 1st of November last year, and widely circulated through the medium of the press of this country, viz. :—

"That this Committee have witnessed with profound regret the acts of the United States Congress during its last session in relation to slavery, and feel it to be their duty to record their condemnation of the spirit in which they were conceived, the principles on which they were based, and the objects they were intended to accomplish.

"That this Committee more particularly reprobate and denounce the act for the recapture of fugitive slaves as an outrage upon the dearest rights of humanity, and a daring violation of the laws of God.

"That the Committee deeply sympathise with the coloured population of the United States, in their present most trying and painful circumstances; and would exhort the friends of freedom throughout the Union to use every legitimate means, in a firm and Christian spirit, to effect the entire and immediate abolition of this most iniquitous law."

Not content with this expression of opinion, the Committee availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the opening of the Great Exhibition, and in anticipation of the May meetings, at both which they expected many Americans would be present, to address their countrymen on American slavery, and the course to be adopted towards slaveholders and their abettors. They also issued a circular letter to the various religious organisations and societies which adorn the land, in which they expressed their hope that they would "take such steps as shall effectually prevent all parties implicated in the support of slavery in the United States, from access to their pulpits, and to the fellowship of their churches, and by these means show their determination, not only to discountenance the system of American slavery, but all its abettors also; whilst, at the same time, they gave a cordial reception to those who act upon opposite principles as worthy of double honour."

To give further practical testimony against American slavery, at the Anti-slavery Soirée, held at the Freemasons' Hall, on the 19th of May last, at which some of the most distinguished London ministers were present, the following sentiment was presented by the Rev. Wm. Owen, at the request of the Committee, and unanimously adopted, namely :—

"The duty of Christian churches, in relation to slavery :—Relying on the power of Christian principles, wherever and whenever faithfully applied, to destroy this giant iniquity, we call upon all churches, which profess themselves Christian, promptly to separate themselves from all connexion with it, as a present and solemn duty, and to refuse to recognise the claims of any to Christian fellowship, who continue to practise or to justify it."

The result of these various movements has been to secure the adoption of resolutions, in conformity with the recommendations of the Society, by the following, among other religious bodies, viz. :—the Baptist Union, the Congregational Union of England and Wales, several county associations, bodies of Christian ministers, and particular churches; and I doubt not that others will follow the example.

As a specimen of the spirit and temper of these resolutions, I give the following, passed on the 16th of May, by the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Rev. JOHN KELLY, of Liverpool, in the chair :—

"That this Assembly, while most anxious to reciprocate sentiments of fraternal regard and unity towards the pastors and churches of the same faith and order as those in connexion with this Union in the United States of America,—more especially towards the descendants of the venerated Pilgrim Fathers in the New England States,—deem it their duty to renew their solemn and indignant protest against slavery as it now exists among the American churches; and, in particular, to express their great surprise and deep sorrow at the conduct of those ministers of various denominations who have given either direct countenance or tacit support to the Fugitive Slave Law, recently passed by the American Legislature, inasmuch as they cannot but regard that wicked and accursed statute as being, in the language of the eminent patriot and philanthropist, Judge Jay, 'a palpable violation of the principles of justice, the rights of humanity, and the religion of Jesus Christ,'—a law to which no one who would obey God rather than man can consistently or righteously submit. And this Assembly would earnestly pray that the Divine Head of the Church, in whom there is neither bond nor free, would open the eyes of all Christian ministers and churches in the United States to the aggravated guilt of participating in the sin of man stealing, or holding their brethren in unjust and cruel bondage—a sin which, in the opinion of this Assembly, raises an insuperable barrier to church-fellowship with them, on the part of all who, in this particular, reverence the authority of God, and respect the inalienable rights of their fellow-men."

It is unnecessary that I should add the resolution on American slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, which was adopted at the annual meeting of the Society, held in Exeter-hall, on Monday evening last, as you have recorded it in the report of the proceedings; but I think it will be found a fitting sequel to those which preceded it.

I leave you now, Sir, with the facts I have brought under review, to say whether or not the Society has shrunk from its duty, or flinched from cordially adopting the course you recommend as the most practical mode in which Englishmen can deal with American slavery? There is a coarse and vulgar mode of treating this subject, from which the Committee shrink, and to which they will be no parties; they think the advocates of human freedom can afford to be dignified and Christian, both in spirit and action; and, so far as they are concerned, they are determined that the sacred cause to which they are devoted, shall not be defiled by the unclean touch of those who shout for liberty when they mean licence.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

London, July 23, 1851.

JOHN SCOBLE.

#### ILLUSTRATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

##### CATCH THE MINISTER!

250 Dollars for any one who will catch a *Methodist Preacher*!!!  
250 DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living near Jefferson, Frederick County, Maryland, a negro man, who calls himself Lloyd Smuthers, of about twenty-two years of age; he is about five feet nine or ten inches high, of a yellow complexion, and has a down, sly look, a round face and short nose. When spoken to, he generally smiles before replying, and speaks smoothly. He had on, when he left, a blue coat, a white hat with a black scarf on it, and a pair of blue pantaloons; and took no clothing with him except what he had on, that is known. *He belongs to a Methodist church, and pretends to be a preacher.* He took the western stage of the 20th of November, from the other side of Middleton, and was seen afterwards in Hagerstown; he has a brother-in-law living near Harri-bury, named Ben. Russell.

The above reward will be given if taken out of the State, and secured so that I can get him; or 150 dollars if taken within the state.—JACOB RIDGELY, acting for Ruth Ridgely.



## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1st, 1851.

We beg to call the attention of our readers to the abstract of the Report of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, together with a detailed account of the proceedings, which, we have no doubt, will be read with much interest. The meeting was a magnificent one; some of the oldest, most earnest, and best friends of the oppressed slave were present, either on the platform or in the meeting; and the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, were supported by speeches of great ability and eloquence. The *British Banner*, in an admirable article, thus characterises the meeting:—

"It is with singular grace that the friends of humanity, in its varied forms of manifestation, are associating their respective enterprises with the Crystal Palace, that wondrous embodiment of the manifold genius of the world. As a mountain, it is meetly graced by little hills on every side, emblems of Liberty, Peace, and Temperance. The friends of liberty made an Anti-slavery Demonstration last Monday evening, of the most effective character. Many meetings have we attended of that description, and some of peerless magnificence, in the same edifice, but never did we attend one, the general tone of which was more worthy of the object. The assemblage itself was such as could only have been collected in England; nothing like it, all things considered, could have been convened in any other kingdom in Europe. SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., appropriately occupied the chair; the venerable philanthropist having opened the business, called upon Mr. SCOBLE, the Secretary, for the Report, which he gave, half read, half spoken, with his usual spirit, energy, and eloquence. To this succeeded the speaking, which was throughout excellent, every way worthy of the great cause; and never did audience more accurately discriminate the matter which was presented to them, and display a more enlightened, ardent, yet chastened and discreet enthusiasm. In the present article we shall give the substance of the valuable Report, more especially as bearing on the facts of the case."

The speeches of the evening were those delivered by the Revs. WM. OWEN, WM. BROCK, THOMAS BINNEY, and H. H. GARNETT, from the United States, which are shortly but graphically described by our contemporary in the following terms:—

"On a careful perusal of our report of the speeches, it will be found that several of them comprise not a little that is practical. The Rev. WILLIAM OWEN distinguished himself for the manly and enlightened decision which he avowed and inculcated on the great assembly, with respect to the light in which the slaveholder ought to be viewed. Nothing could be more successful than his exposure of the character of American slavery, and the inconsistency of those who profess to base it on the Sacred Scriptures. He clearly showed, that there is no more resemblance between the slavery which obtained among the Jews and that of Virginia, than between the storms of winter and the showers of spring. The Rev. WILLIAM BROCK delivered a speech of extraordinary ability—a model of manly eloquence. Seldom was the cause of the slave exhibited with more breadth of view, more force of fact, or more vigour of expression—qualities vastly aided by a commanding voice and a goodly presence. This is the sort of subject which, beyond almost any other, is suited to the man in his whole nature, which is deeply stamped with the just, the generous, the heroic, and the magnanimous. We could not desire a better impersonation of John Bull in his best mood than William Brock addressing himself to three or four thousand people, on the subject of human wrongs perpetrated by a great nation. The Rev. THOMAS BINNEY, too, was at home; weary and worn, from the toils of the previous day, having preached in the morning in Exeter-hall, and in his own place of worship in the evening, and been occupied the entire of that day till the hour at which the proceedings commenced,—he spoke with reluctance, and even then did not put forth half his strength; but his mere feints have more power in them than most men's serious efforts. There was great execution in his vivacious and vigorous effusion, which was just the sort of thing for the part of the business in which his lot was cast. This brought on the Rev. HENRY GARNETT, a man of colour, who made a speech that would have done honour to the most gifted of England's sons. There was not a heart that listened to that able and enlightened man, that did not realise, with vastly augmented force, the injustice, cruelty, and iniquity of the inhuman system, which could seize such a man, simply on the ground of his colour, loading him with fetters, and converting him into a beast of burden, to be bought and sold with 'goods and chattels!' The speakers that followed were, of course, limited for time; but each, in his turn, indicated the depth of his convictions of the iniquity of slavery, and sympathy with the Society in its glorious movements for the emancipation of eight millions of fettered men."

We will only add the expression of our hope, that this demonstration of British feeling may advance the anti-slavery cause in the United States.

We learn from papers which have reached us from the United States, that the slaveholding portion of the community, and their political friends in Congress, contemplate carrying into immediate effect some vast projects for the extension of slavery on the American continent, and even in the Gulf of Mexico. The following are the details:—

1. The conversion of New Mexico and Utah into slaveholding territories.
2. The division of California into two States, the lower State to be made slaveholding, and to be admitted as such.
3. The occupation of Lower Mexican California.
4. The annexation of Cuba.
5. The colonisation and settlement of the eastern portion of the island of St. Domingo, with an ultimate view to its subjugation and annexation.

The agencies at work to produce the first result, are the presence of a slaveholding executive and judges—appointed by President Fillmore—under whose countenance Southern emigrants may bring, and it is said are bringing, into the territories, and hold there undisputed, their slaves. Utah and New Mexico are alike in this respect; both so organised as to give "aid and comfort" to any slaveholding interest that, carrying out those laws of trade which bid property owners to seek the best markets for capital and industry, shall choose to emigrate to these territories. The division of California is a project that receives "aid and comfort" from the same source. The desire is to renew in the State the attempt defeated in the United States Senate last winter, to divide California, and leave the dismembered section to be invaded by slavery. The acquisition of the peninsula of Lower California is spoken of by the California papers as having already given rise to an expedition from Upper California. The conquest of Cuba has been the prize of two expeditions organised in the States. This acquisition, by purchase or otherwise, is one that undoubtedly the present administration and some of its predecessors have contemplated and have laboured for, and an active organisation exists to second such attempts, or to bring on a crisis of the question, in another shape, by irritations, menaces of invasion, and projects and rumours of rebellion. In illustration of the designs on the independence of Hayti, we may refer to the secret mission of Mr. Hogan, under Tyler's administration; and to a more recent attempt (in 1849-50) of Mr. Green, son of Duff Green, claiming to be an agent of the Government, to establish a treaty of colonisation, and to make arrangements for mail transportation with the Dominican and Haytien governments. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* has exposed this secret arrangement, publishing the rejected propositions, and interpreting them as the evidence of an intended establishment of influence by the United States Government.

Such are the schemes which a few active, intriguing and desperate politicians of the South, aided by the direct and interested connivance of the administration, in regard to some, and their apathetic indifference or blindness as to others, are now engaged in.

The *New York Herald*, the organ of the slavery propagandists, thus speaks of "the partition of Mexico, and the annexation of Lower California, or Sonora, or both."

"The movement to annex Lower California, or Sonora, or perhaps both, is not, however, confined to California. It has warm advocates in the Southern States, and is more popular there than in California, especially among those who entertain the project of establishing, at some future time, a great Southern confederacy. The secessionists of the South have always contemplated, in their schemes and arrangements, a vast accession to the Southern States—especially of the cotton-growing portion of the Mexican Republic—so as to enable them to continue to hold a monopoly of that great staple in the markets of the world. This has entered largely into their calculations, and fortified them in the position which they have assumed towards the North—that, if their just rights and privileges, under the Constitution, were denied to them, they would recede and organise a confederacy of their own. Who can estimate the agricultural wealth and mineral resources of a confederacy embracing the Southern States, joined with Mexico, and such additional territory as they might acquire? And who can help perceiving that it would be, in a few years, much greater and more powerful than the Northern and New England States could, under any circumstances, be by themselves?"

"This project of partitioning Mexico, and annexing either Sonora or Lower California to the United States, will undoubtedly be opposed by the present administration, who have planted themselves on the compromise measures of last Congress. If the subject were for a moment favourably entertained by them, it is easy to see that the slavery agitation, with all its difficulties, its dangers, and prospective horrors, would be immediately re-opened, and form again a dividing line between the Northern and the Southern States. The South feel chagrined and mor-



tified because the Wilmot Proviso was imposed on Mexico; and we venture to say they will never again consent or be a party to any arrangement by which that Proviso shall be attached to any territory south of 36.30. This need not be expected. The question, however, in all probability, must be met; and if the parties who are engaged in this expedition bestir themselves, and commence carrying their project into effect, nothing can prevent it from getting into the Presidential election of 1852. This would upset the compromise platform, for it would run like wildfire in the South, and would be popular in the North also. The truth is, that the people of this country live as much in a year as those of other countries do in half a century; and the platform or programme that according to present appearances would do now for a party to enter the Presidential contest upon, would be of no service six months hence; for, according to all probability, another state of things would exist, and a different platform would be necessary. The compromise platform may do for the present; but no one can tell what a month, a week, or even a day, may bring forth, in this extraordinary, ever changing Republic, whose destiny is irresistibly leading us on to some great goal which the mind of man cannot conceive."

Again, in remarking upon the nomination of General Scott, by the Ohio Whig Convention, the *Herald* remarks:—

"It is, nevertheless, not probable that General Scott will reach the Presidency by the popular vote, should he receive the nomination of the National Convention. The Convention which nominated him in Pennsylvania established a platform of principles which will prevent him from getting a single vote south of Mason's and Dixon's line; and the contemptible, sneaking manner in which the Ohio Convention dodged any expression of opinion on the compromise measures, and especially the Fugitive Slave Law passed by the last Congress, will make his case worse, if possible. No candidate, Whig or Democrat, who will not take Southern and constitutional ground on the great question of the day, will stand any chance of success. This is as good as settled. Situated, however, as the Southern States are at present, and determined, as we believe they are, to regain their lost power in the councils of the nation, or at least to restore the equilibrium of representation, which was disturbed by the admission of California, it is very probable that they would be pleased at the nomination of General Scott, for it would assist them materially in the plan which they appear to have framed for regaining their lost ground. It may be looked upon as certain, that they will promote, to the best of their ability, any measure looking to the annexation of Lower California and Sonora, and perhaps other parts of Mexico. By effecting such acquisitions, they could accomplish what they want, and again control the action and policy of the National Government. For seventy years, they shaped and directed the Government at Washington; and the power to do so again can be acquired in no way but by the annexation of additional Southern territory. They seem determined on effecting this; and when the time shall come, as come it will, and that too, in all probability, before very long, when an attempt will be made to impose the Wilmot Proviso on such new territory, the South will combine all their forces in resistance to it; and, if they be not able to prevent its passage, they will secede in a body, and establish a separate Southern confederacy of their own."

The *National Era*, in commenting on this, remarks, "The game is afoot—the programme arranged—the leaders active in carrying out the scheme. Slavery is to be extended; for this, Texas was annexed; for this, war was declared against Mexico; for this, the annexation of new territory is required. Though foiled as regards California, the efforts of the slavery conspirators are unabated. Believing that slavery must extend itself, or die, they are unremitting in their endeavours to get a foothold for it in Utah and New Mexico. Lower California is also to be made slave territory, and annexed to the United States. Will this attempt be successful? Friends of freedom, the crisis is upon us; and it becomes us to meet it like men. Interested politicians cry, Peace! Peace! and deprecate agitation as an unholy thing. They ask us to 'conquer our prejudices' in favour of freedom, while the slavery aristocracy are labouring with zeal and alacrity to extend slavery over free soil."

"The tone of the *Herald* exhibits the purpose and spirit of the conspirators. Freedom is to be strangled, and slavery is to be the ruling and controlling influence in the Government. This is no fancy sketch. The purpose is avowed, and, if unsuccessful, the usual resort of the Hotspurs of the South, a threat is made to frighten the North into acquiescence. A Southern confederacy is to be established, with slavery as its corner-stone! Southern politicians understand the game of brag and bluster, and probably they will again succeed in cajoling the leading politicians of both parties to favour their schemes. It remains for the people to act with promptitude, and check this nefarious attempt to abolish freedom, by overrunning the virgin soil of Mexico with the curse of slavery. It becomes the freemen of both political parties to frown down this

attempt to subject them and their children to slavery domination. It is useless for us to close our eyes to the crisis which is approaching. Call meetings—discuss the subject—expose its enormity—deprecate the infernal lust of conquest, which may involve us in another war, and instruct your Representatives to oppose this purpose with all the means in their power. Let not the question be sprung upon the country like that relating to the annexation of Texas, which was the moving cause of the war with Mexico, with all its attendant horrors. We have no means of judging of the future, except by the past; and, judging by the past, we cannot disguise the fact that treason to liberty is intended. Let us not be deluded by the fallacious and deceptive pretext of extending the 'area of republican institutions;' but let us think, decide, and act, as the emergency requires."

The discussion which has taken place in the House of Commons relative to the slave-trade, and which we give in another part of our columns, will be read with interest. The facts submitted to the House of Commons by Lord PALMERSTON, on the recent extraordinary diminution of the traffic between Africa and Brazil, are of the most gratifying description. We sincerely trust it may continue, though upon that point we entertain the most serious doubts. It is unquestionably within the power of the Brazilian Government to terminate the traffic whensoever it will; a simple application of the laws in force will effect it. But when we know the part it has played for so many years; its steady adherence to the policy of supplying the plantations with slaves; its pertinacious rejection of all overtures for giving effect to its treaties with this country; and the contempt with which it has treated all the protests, and remonstrances, and claims of the British Government, we must be excused if we do not become sudden converts to its sincerity, or to its determination to extinguish the slave-trade. When we find that it inflicts on the slave-traders and their abettors in Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco, the penalties of the law; and, above all, when we discover that it honestly gives the unfortunate Africans, who have been illicitly and illegally imported into the Empire, the opportunity of pleading their rights before the tribunals; and when we find that substantial justice is done to that deeply injured people,—then will we admit the sincerity of the Brazilian Government, and rejoice that a great debt to humanity and justice, though long delayed, has been paid.

In our judgment, the true causes of the spasmodic vigour shown by the Brazilian Government in the suppression of the slave-trade, will be found not so much in the presence of our cruisers on the coast, as in the anticipated war with Rosas, who has distinctly said, that, at whatever point he enters Brazil, he will proclaim the abolition of slavery. To be encumbered with a vast slave population under such circumstances, and especially with newly-imported Africans, is to have an enemy within its borders far more formidable than the invader and his troops can be. Of course, we have no desire to see slavery abolished by such means, but rather that it should issue from sentiments of justice and religion; yet it may easily be conceived that the threat of so determined and formidable an opponent as Rosas would have a powerful effect on a Government so essentially weak as the Brazilian. There is also another reason which, no doubt, has had its effect in bringing about the present state of things. It is well known that the native Brazilians have long eyed with jealousy the great influence and power which the Portuguese party have enjoyed at Rio, the seat of the Government; and that they have long determined upon their overthrow. For this purpose they have organised themselves, and established several newspapers, in which they have attacked that party with the greatest vigour, and as it was principally through their wealth that the slave-trade was carried on, they have dealt their heaviest blows against them in that direction; and growing in power, as the native party are, many of the Portuguese party have broken up their establishments, retired to Lisbon, and the slave-trade has consequently diminished. The Government has taken advantage of these circumstances, and has now the credit of being sincerely bent on the extinction of the slave-trade. If, on the accession of the native party, they should give effect to their intentions, and direct their energies to the overthrow of slavery, we shall be among the first to honour them, and rejoice that they have delivered their country from the presence of its worst enemies, and laid the foundation for its future prosperity.



## BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in Exeter Hall, on Monday evening, the 23rd of July last, Samuel Gurney, Esq., presiding. The hall was well filled, and the platform was crowded by a large number of the leading friends of the anti-slavery cause; among whom we observed the Revs. Dr. Archer, Burns, Campbell, Massie, Richey; Revs. Thomas Binney, James Sherman, William Brock, J. Davies, G. Smith, George Scott, J. Woodwark, &c., &c. Rev. A. Coquerel, Paris; Revs. G. C. Beckwith, D. C. Eddy, Amos Dresser, H. H. Garnet, Josiah Henson, from the United States and Canada, &c., &c.; Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P.; George Wm. Alexander, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, George Stacey, Samuel Sturge, Henry Sterry, Robert Alsop, Frederick Tuckett, Samuel Cash, John Harrison, Esqrs., London; Edward Thomas, Bristol; G. W. Harrison, Wakefield; Thomas Catchpool, Colchester; Joseph Sturge, Birmingham; J. D. Carr, Carlisle; Thomas Bignold, Norwich; John Candler, Chelmsford, Esqrs.; with a large number of gentlemen from the provinces, as well as the continent of Europe and the United States.

The CHAIRMAN said: I have undertaken a situation of considerable responsibility in acceding to the request that has been made to me to occupy the chair this evening. I much regret that an engagement made long before this will prevent my staying the whole of the meeting through; but I can assure my friends it is from no slackness of interest that I take in the object for which we are met; I do not know, indeed, that in any former period in the progress of the cause there was greater need for the cares and exertions of our Committee than exist at the present time. It is true we can perceive many features that are encouraging, and, to a great degree, satisfactory; but we have still a mountain of iniquity to contend with; and it is only by steady and quiet perseverance, and may I say, the blessing of the Almighty, that we can hope really, sufficiently, and ultimately entirely to succeed. There are certainly encouraging features. It is my happiness to know that our colonies,—at least, some of them,—are emerging from the difficulties in which they have been lately placed, and I do fully believe that the free labour of our colonies will be able to contend successfully with the slave labour of other lands. I do not believe that I am wrong in stating thus much of the West Indies. There is no doubt that in the Mauritius this is a time of unusual prosperity, although I am not without fear that the cause of that prosperity is in some sort objectionable. At the same time, we cannot but rejoice that days of prosperity are dawning upon our colonies under free labour. For this result, I think that much is due to our Committee; but for their watchful care, perhaps, the chains of slavery, under other names, might have been again rivetted around the negro, and thus all that we had accomplished have become completely neutralised. I do think that there is cause for great gratification in the statement made by Lord Palmerston, the other day, touching the state of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa; but we must still remember, that this does not touch the question of slavery in the Brazils, which is, I fear, in a very unfavourable position. I am one of those who believe, that while slavery exists in those countries, that the slave-trade will, sooner or later, more or less revive—at least, there is very great danger of it. I may just in a word refer to the extraordinary position of the United States on this particular subject. I am not prepared myself to enter very fully on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, but I will say, in brief, that it is repugnant to the common feelings of our nature. It is completely at variance with the Christian religion that we profess; and I believe it will strongly operate against those who promoted its adoption. It is my belief, that this measure has already created in that country a strong feeling against the whole system of slavery; that it will tend to strengthen the interests of the anti-slavery party in America. Let me just add, I do trust, that whatever may be done in this country, and by this meeting, will be done in such a way as not to check that feeling which is gradually increasing in the United States in behalf of freedom for the slave. Remember, they are rather a touchy people, and do not like to be handled very severely. Now I am on the subject of the United States, I may say, that it appears to me to argue well in favour of our cause, that California is not to be a slave but a free State—thus giving a preponderance, in number of States, on the side of freedom; and giving us reason to hope, that America will one day get rid of this abominable iniquity—an evil which they now think it is difficult to get rid of, but a view in which I, at least, most heartily differ from them. I will not further occupy your time, as there are a number of gentlemen who are so well able to treat the whole subject in a manner at once able and interesting.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., the secretary, read an abstract of the Report, pre-facing it with an apology for the absence of Lord Brougham and Sir Edward Buxton, who regretted their inability to attend, while they expressed a hearty sympathy with the objects of the Society.

JOHN CANDLER, Esq., moved the first resolution:—

"That the Report, an abstract of which has now been read, be adopted, and circulated under the direction of the Committee, and that the following be the Committee and office-bearers for the year ensuing:—Treasurer, George William Alexander, Lombard-street. Committee, Robert Alsop, William Ball, J. Gurney Barclay, Richard Barrett, Lewis F. Bellot,

William Beck, Thomas Binns, Rev. James Carlile, Joseph Cooper, Samuel Fisher, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, Samuel Fox, Charles Gilpin, Samuel Gurney, jun., Rev. J. H. Hinton, M.A., Rev. James Kennedy, Jacob Post, Dr. Thomas Price, George Stacey, Henry Sterry, Samuel Sturge, Rev. John Woodwark. Secretary, John Scoble. Corresponding Members, Professor Ackersdyke, Utrecht; John Beaumont, Ufford, near Woodbridge; Rev. William Bevan, Wolverhampton; Hon. J. G. Birney, Michigan, U.S.; C. A. Bisette, Paris; Samuel Bowley, Gloucester; John Candler, Chelmsford; Dr. Carove, Frankfort-on-the-Maine; Francis R. Cocking, Venezuela; L. F. and A. Courtois, Toulouse; John Cropper, Liverpool; Professor David, Copenhagen; Joseph Eaton, Bristol; Professor G. de Felice, Montauban; William Forster, Norwich; Samuel Gurney, London; Thomas Harvey, Leeds; M. Isambert, Paris; Hon. William Jay, Chester, U.S.; Rev. Joshua Leavitt, Boston, U.S.; R. R. Madden, M.D.; J. S. Mollet, Amsterdam; William Morgan, Birmingham; Richard Peek, Hazlewood, near Kingsbridge; Hon. S. J. Prescod, Barbadoes; Joseph T. Price, Neath Abbey; M. Groen Van Printserer, the Hague; James Richardson, London; Rev. Thomas Scales, Leeds; Victor Schœlcher, Paris; Joseph Sturge, Birmingham; Lewis Tappan, New York, U.S.; Professor Worms, Hamburg; F. H. Heyder, Frankfort-on-the-Maine."

He remarked that they were placed in very different circumstances to those in which they were fifteen years ago, when they commenced their great and important warfare against slavery. There had been a stand-up fight between the representatives of freedom in this country, and the representatives of East India interests, and the former gained the day. He did not speak exultingly, but thankfully. He rejoiced further to say, that, as it regarded the planters, the friends of the slave had found them generous enemies. G. W. Alexander and himself had passed through the West Indies during the last twelve months, and had found an open door and a cordial reception from all classes of the people. To be known as the representatives of the Anti-slavery Society was to insure them a reception everywhere. There was not a single estate that they might not have visited. Neither was there, so far as they knew, a single individual in the West Indies who desired to return to the former system of slavery. The planters had, indeed, been in distress. This was not the result, however, of emancipation, but of false legislation, both in the colony and in the mother country. He was rejoiced to hear from the chairman, that the planters were lifting up their heads, and that there was hope that the time of prosperity was returning. With regard to one question touched upon in the Report, he would say just a word or two, namely, emigration. He was glad that there had been communications between the Anti-slavery Society and the Government in reference to this subject, between whom it might reasonably be hoped there would be cordial co-operation in the carrying out of this matter, and in promoting a system of both emigration and immigration. There could be no doubt that such a system would be attended with very excellent results. He might be allowed to say a word as respects the prospects of the planters. His friend and himself, while in the West Indies, had repeatedly spoken to them on this subject, and they uniformly declared, what they wanted was a clear stage and no favour. Only shield them from an unequal competition with slave-grown produce, and they desired no more. It was a very pleasing circumstance, he thought, that the cultivation of sugar from beet-root had been begun in Ireland. As far as it had yet been tried, the project had been attended with the most favourable results. Just before coming into the hall to that meeting, he had seen a specimen of the sugar which, in six weeks, would be brought into the Irish market, manufactured from the beet-root. Its cost would be about £32 per ton, or less than 4d. per lb. The friends of true and universal liberty would certainly bid Ireland God-speed in this new enterprise, as well as also in the cultivation of flax, which had also been commenced in good earnest in that country. He did hope that those who represent Irish interests would have their attention fully directed to this question, which it certainly and pre-eminently demanded.

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., of Bristol, would not make a speech, but content himself with simply seconding the adoption of the Report.

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Esq., Treasurer of the Society, moved:—

"Resolved,—That while this meeting deeply deplore the continued existence of slavery and the slave-trade, domestic or foreign, in the United States and the Brazilian Empire, and in the colonial dependencies of Spain, Holland, and Portugal; the fearful horrors and demoralisation by which they are uniformly accompanied, and the great impediments which they offer to the progress of civilisation and religion in the world, they rejoice in the many circumstances which indicate their extinction at no distant period; and would urge upon every Christian community, and on the friends of humanity and freedom at large, to use every practicable, legitimate and peaceful effort to accelerate the period when the common rights of mankind, without distinction of country or colour, shall be universally acknowledged and enjoyed."

It would be perceived, that the first part of the resolution referred to the painful feelings which must of necessity be experienced by every friend of humanity at the continued existence of slavery and of the slave-trade, and that, too, upon a vast scale. It was hardly needful for him to say that he most heartily sympathised in the terms of the resolution he had just read; and he did not sympathise in it the less because it had been his lot very recently to visit nearly the whole of the West Indian colonies of



England, and to see what was really the condition of those colonies, and, subsequently, to visit, partially, the United States of America, to behold the blighting and deplorable effects of slavery in that great country. He must confess, that, much as some persons might look down upon the emancipated colonies of Great Britain, he had far rather make any one of those dependencies his residence, than take up his abode in the United States of America. At this moment, there was not one single portion of that vast territory in which men were free. He repeated, and with emphasis, that there was not a free man in America; for, if any man dare to obey the dictates of humanity towards the fugitive slave,—if a man did that for his fellow which was his duty, and which not only his feelings but his religion led him to do, he was liable to be sent to prison and be compelled to pay a heavy fine for this act of humanity. He must confess, that before it was his lot to visit the shores of America, he had not fully apprehended the whole of the evils connected with slavery. It was not merely that it robbed three millions of human beings of their liberty and of their toil, nor that slavery did not recognise the institution of marriage between slaves—it was not merely that there were 3,000,000 of slaves in the United States, among whom, husband and wife, parent and child, were liable, at any moment, to be separated,—this was not all; although one might suppose that this was enough to condemn the whole system,—but it had connected with it a variety of other circumstances of the most lamentable and revolting description. For his own part, he had no conception, until his visit to America, of the extent of the prejudice which actually prevails against people of colour. He could relate many circumstances in illustration of this fact, besides one or two which he would briefly give. A young female Friend in New York, who was desirous of starting a school for coloured children, could not procure, in that city, a suitable room for her purpose, because the owners of such floors refused to allow them to be occupied by individuals who had not a skin like their own. Attention had been already called to the Fugitive Slave Bill—a law which could not be spoken of in terms of condemnation too strong—but there had been laws passed by some of the separate States, quite as revolting and cruel as that unrighteous measure the Fugitive Slave Bill itself. For instance, in the small State of Delaware, which might be almost termed a free State, so-called, a law was passed which rendered persons of colour liable to a fine of fifty dollars simply for going into the State; and if the money was not forthcoming, they were to be sold as slaves, in order to pay the fine. When he was in Baltimore, the capital of Maryland, a very fine city, and, but for slavery, equal, for a habitation, to any town in the United States, he was informed that a law had been passed there, within the last few years, by which any person of colour guilty of offences against the law, was to receive the most unequal punishment, and for a third violation was to be sold out of the State for the same period that a white man, guilty of the same offence, would be imprisoned. One individual, it appeared, was imprisoned in the gaol of Baltimore for the long space of fourteen years, for giving a slave a free pass. Among other considerations connected with slavery, it was an important one to remember, that in order to preserve this infamous system, it was necessary to make a law prohibiting the teaching of a slave to read, and enforced by the most severe penalties, and even by that of death. In Washington, he visited school after school, from which coloured children are systematically excluded. He was most gratified to state that a very different state of things prevailed in this respect in the British colonies. He would not dwell further upon the deplorable existence of slavery, for the people of this country, from what they had seen of slavery in this and other lands, believed it to be a system the most inhuman and infamous, thoroughly opposed to the benign principles of Christianity. For a moment or two he would refer to some of the encouragements connected with the progress of the anti-slavery cause. As Mr. Candler had observed, they had had to fight vigorously for the abolition of slavery in our own colonies; and the accomplishment of this was a considerable step in the way of its utter and universal extinction. They had always believed this, for they could not but suppose that the example of England would tell greatly upon other countries, and so it had fallen out. Slavery had been abolished in a small island belonging to Sweden; an abolition act had been passed, although not altogether of a satisfactory character, by Denmark; and France too had passed a law for the abolition of slavery in its dependencies. No less than 250,000 slaves had been set free. In Holland, also, some steps had been taken in the same direction. He had then only to speak further of Spain, of Portugal, of the United States, and of the Brazils; and in reference to all or any of these, he was not able to say that they had taken any decided step for the abolition of slavery. An exception, however, should be made in regard to Portugal, which had inspired hope by its recent measures. With regard to Spain, there was at present no hope. America presented much that was very discouraging and painful, but notwithstanding, there were some favourable indications even there. A few years ago, the question of the abolition of slavery was not allowed to be discussed in the legislature; but within the last few years, it had been the most prominent subject of debate. With such a fact before him, he could not but believe that some good must result to the injured slave. A few

years since, it was the law that no anti-slavery newspaper should be printed in the capital; but at the present time there was such a journal published in that very city, with a circulation of 16,000 copies. Thus, while deeply deploring the existence of slavery, especially in those parts of the world where Christianity is professed, there were many encouraging circumstances which should lead to the continuance of their exertions on behalf of the slave, and he trusted that the time would come when this cursed and unrighteous system would perish from the face of the earth.

M. COQUEREL, jun., pastor of the Protestant church in Paris, seconded the resolution. He said, he was not quite sure whether his language might not bear variance with the rules of their grammar; but, certainly, the emotions of his heart were not at variance with their feelings. He was happy to say, that he came from a country where there were no more slaves. If it were otherwise, the fact would not prevent him saying what he felt on the subject of slavery, for he would have done this, if he had stood in that hall speaking to such an audience years ago, when there were such people in the world as French slaves. Yet, he could not have spoken then with the same feelings, but with sorrow and shame. Now he could do it with feelings of joy and thankfulness to God. He did not know what Providence had in reserve for the republic of France; but he knew this, that if it had been blotted out from the list of European nations, the day after all French slaves had been set at liberty, it would have been enough for true glory—enough for every Frenchman to be proud of their republic. When he was thinking, if in France at that moment, how he should speak to his countrymen on the subject of anti-slavery, the false and abominable idea came into his mind, which an attempt had been made to put into the heads of the people of France, that “property is theft.” But he thought it was perfectly true, when applied to men who said of a brother man, “He is my property.” The man that dare to say that, was a liar and a thief. A man was his own property, or rather, of Jehovah who made him. The man who said a slave was his property, was a thief, not only of the man, but of every hour of his time, of every beat of his bosom, and of every work that he could perform. He believed that this was true, not in word, but in reality. He was thankful to M. Proudhon for putting that phrase into the world, “property is theft;” for although in all other respects it was false, it was really true in this. He seconded the resolution in his hand with very great pleasure, being fully alive to the importance of using “every practicable, legitimate, and peaceful effort to accelerate the period when the common rights of mankind, without distinction of country or colour, shall be universally enjoyed.” He must be allowed just to say what he felt when he came into that hall. The place on the platform which by chance was given to him was between two gentlemen of colour, and he felt the position to be one both of privilege and honour. He felt this, because he was a white man, and belonged to the white race which was so long the tyrannical oppressor, and because they belonged to that black race which so long had been oppressed and injured. It would be his great joy, if he could, to atone with true fraternal love for all that they had suffered from his countrymen. He felt this, not now in word only, but at the time when he found himself in that interesting position, which was an honour, to sit between two countrymen who had been injured by his own. He did not believe that he had conferred any honour upon them, because he was a white man; but on the contrary that, because they were black, they had conferred honour upon him in permitting him to sit between them. He could not understand how it was that those individuals in any country who made a difference between black and white men, not only could call themselves Christians, for they had no right whatever to that name—but how they could dare to call themselves “enlightened,” or “Protestant,” or “Republican.” They were in reality despots—tyrannical despots. They did not know what real life was, or what man was—a brother, a creature of God. Now, with regard to what had been done in the work of emancipation. It had succeeded in England and France, and would succeed throughout the whole world; and the time would come when not a trace of slavery would be left on the wide world. God did not call his people slaves, but children. The Saviour himself said, “I call you not servants, but friends.” Now, if God called men his “children,” and Christ called them his “friends,” why should any man be too proud to call his equal friend and brother? (M. Coquerel was greeted with loud approbation throughout his speech.)

The Rev. WILLIAM OWEN supported the resolution in an able speech, dwelling chiefly on the theological and religious aspects of the question. He thought that Mr. Wesley said truly, when he termed slavery “the sum of all villainies.” Many slaveholders and apologists for slavery called themselves by the Christian name, and he would not say they were not Christians, although he must say that their conduct gave the lie to their profession; and until they harmonised the two, they were, in his judgment, unworthy of Christian recognition. Mr. Owen proceeded to grapple fairly with the statement, that both the Old and New Testament sanctioned slavery. Taking the Old Testament in order, he demonstrated, in a clear and satisfactory manner, that there was no comparison whatever between Hebrew servitude and modern slavery, and challenged the whole pro-slavery world to prove that the patriarchs had ever bought slaves or servants from a third party, declaring that if they could he would give up



that part of his argument. Besides, if the American slaveholders profess to be guided in their conduct by Moses, why were they not consistent with themselves, and obey Moses entirely? He never heard of there being any Jubilee in America. If Moses had been obeyed in this respect, there would not at the present moment have been a single slave in any of the States. The instructions of the Jewish lawgiver were in direct antagonism with the practice of those who professed to obey his law. Moses distinctly said, in Exodus xxi. 16, "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." If they would have the law, let them go to the law. Moses Stuart had defended the Fugitive Slave Bill, but there was another Moses who had said, in Deuteronomy xxiii. 15, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, which it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." But it was said that the New Testament sanctioned slavery, and we were told continually about Paul sending back Onesimus to Philemon, who is said to have been his *slave*, although the word slave does not occur in the Epistle; but, say the advocates of slavery, the word there translated "servant" is *doulos*, and means "slave." What a blessed thing learning was! yes, but did it always mean slave? Christ used the same word when he said to his disciples, "I have not called you servants, but friends." Did he mean *slaves*? The same word, *doulos*, was also used in relation to Christ when it is said, "He took on him the form of a *servant*." Did this mean slave? With such proofs as these, was he not justified in affirming that neither the Old nor the New Testament gave any encouragement to slavery? He thought that the time was fully come for the church to resolve to have no communion with men who could seek to support such a system. He, for one, would "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness," but rather reprove them.

Mr. GURNEY having vacated the chair, it was re-occupied by JOSEPH STURGE, Esq.

Rev. W. BROCK, in moving the next resolution, said—I am glad to see Exeter Hall filled once more with an anti-slavery audience. I was beginning to fear that the feeling in favour of the slave was subsiding; that the sentiments of the "Latter-day Pamphlets" were doing their work of mischief. We have been told that we were exaggerating the evils of slavery; that we really did not understand the subject; that "the peculiar institution" was quite beyond our reach. I feared we were getting beguiled by these fallacies; but to-night I am not afraid. Here we are, a goodly number of real abolitionists, some Americans among the rest. Would that the slaveholders were here too, with that man at their head who "would not offer a single prayer, if thereby he could liberate every slave under heaven." I mean Dr. Spring, of whom we have heard from Mr. Owen. We are, indeed, asked what right we have to be here on such an errand? What right have we to interfere? Sir, slavery is an outrage on humanity, therefore humanity is bound to interfere. American slavery is an insult to God; therefore, if we would glorify God, we must resent this injury. The Fugitive Slave Law is a proud defiance of the rights of mankind, therefore mankind may rightfully demand that that law be at once repealed. I have known it said, "that we entailed slavery on the Americans, and that therefore they are not to blame. Besides, only let them alone, and they will get rid of it. They will at last purge themselves of this contempt against God and man. The thing will cure itself." Sir, such things don't cure themselves. They get worse and worse. American slavery gets worse and worse. Of course it does. How can it be otherwise with it, when this is its definition—"Slaves shall be deemed, sold, and taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators, and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever." And this definition is adopted, for thus says an American judge—"The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who represented him, was not susceptible of any modification or restriction. He owed to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds and an absolute obedience." Now such doctrines involve all that we have ever represented as detestable in slavery. Are the slaves over-worked, labouring eighteen hours out of the twenty-four? Are they underfed, kept in part upon cotton seed? Are they badly clothed and horribly punished, even with the hot iron and with pepper rubbed into their burnt and blistered flesh? Are they used for the purposes of breeding, all morality being audaciously set at naught? No wonder! If they be "chattels personal to all intents and purposes," all this wickedness is sanctioned and vindicated by the law. The wickedness is inevitably involved in the law itself. But we may have doubts about the breeding. Then hear, that you may know. Thomas Randolph said—"Virginia has been turned into one great menagerie, where men are reared for the market as oxen for the shambles." Mr. Gholson said, "It has always been considered that the owner of land has a right to its annual profits, the owner of orchards to their annual fruits, the owner of brood mares to their products, and the owner of female slaves to their increase. The value of this property, namely, of slave-women who become mothers, justifies the expense of keeping them, and in its increase

consists much of our wealth." "Never," saith Horace Mann, "never has there been a lawful marriage among the millions of our slaves. Their life is a life of concubinage, and a various and vagrant concubinage too, traversing the circle of overseer, master, master's guests, and master's sons." Now, America knows all this to be true. She knows that Virginia alone has exported, in one year, 40,000 slaves of her own rearing. She knows all about the fornication, and adultery, and incest by which they were procured. And, what is more horrifying, the American church knows all this. Does she not blush for very shame? No! far from it. When the Methodist church was founded there, in 1784, it was enacted, that no holder of slaves should be received or retained in membership. Now, it is decided that slavery is not a moral evil, and that the aforesaid enactment shall not be enforced. When the Presbyterian church was there founded, in 1794, it was enacted, that slavery is a gross violation of the most precious rights of human nature. Now, the Presbyterian church declares this enactment to be offensive and insulting, and it is a dead letter. Well did Mr. James, of Birmingham, say, "The demon of slavery finds his haunt, his shelter, his defence, under the very altar of the Lord our God." The American Methodists hold 219,000 slaves; the Presbyterians, 77,000; the Baptists, 125,000; the Campbellites, who, I believe, are Baptists, 101,000; the Episcopalians, 88,000; and other bodies, 50,000. In 1840, there were two millions and a half of slaves. In 1850, there are three and a quarter millions. No great mark of improvement here! No; let all friends of the slave be sure that so far as the slaveholding and the slave-breeding is concerned, it must wax worse and worse. But now we come to the consummation of all proof that there is no improvement. Slaves have been, from the first, prone to run away, and individuals had long obtained a living by hunting fugitive slaves. The most common way is to train young dogs to follow them, just in the way one would follow a fox. They thus track a negro as certainly as the hound tracks his prey. One account on this subject states:—"A lot of runaway slaves were discovered, on Sunday last, near the Washington Spring. They took the alarm, and made their escape; but Mr. Adams and his excellent dogs being put upon the scent, soon ran down one of them and secured him." Mr. Adams and his excellent dogs! Men made in God's image hunted down by dogs! Men trying to regain their rights, "the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," actually run down by bloodhounds! However, many slaves did manage to get away; but this must be stopped; and so their wicked oppressors "framed mischief by a law." I refer, Mr. Chairman, to the Fugitive Slave Law. According to its enactments, when a black man is charged with being a fugitive, he is taken before a commissioner, who is directed by the law to receive no communication or evidence from the black man, but to adjudicate on the testimony of the captor alone. And the decision of the commissioner must be summary, and it is absolutely final. Even where a mistake is made, it is enacted, that "the judgment shall be conclusive, and shall prevent all molestation of the claimant by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or any person whatsoever." No possibility of escape is left to the accused. Once in the fangs of the slave-hunter his doom is sealed. That great palladium of our rights, the habeas corpus, is set wholly at naught. Surely, if the Christian, even the civilised world, did but know of these abominable enactments, it would shame the United States to repeal them without delay. But this is not all. Thus runs the law:—"Any person who shall hinder the arrest of a fugitive, or assist such fugitive, directly or indirectly, to escape, or shall harbour or conceal him after notice or knowledge of the fact that he is a fugitive, shall be liable to a fine of 1,000 dollars and six months' imprisonment, and to a suit for damages of 1,000 dollars for each fugitive lost to his owner by the said obstruction or rescue." What is this but framing mischief by a law? Every American citizen is put upon the track of the fugitive. It is not merely, as my friend put it just now—a man shall be heavily fined and imprisoned for refusing to facilitate the capture of the fugitive. If there be a party of five or six, as there was in the case of my fugitive brother behind me, Josiah Henson, the philanthropic American citizen is to be fined, over and above the first fine, 1,000 dollars for each fugitive. The thing, Sir, is execrable. It deserves the public condemnation of all Christendom. A country so pre-eminently Christian as America claims to be, thus offending against the first claims of humanity, thus "framing mischief by a law," deserves to be universally condemned. They themselves legalise the crime, and then think to perpetuate it with impunity! At all events, they did not inherit the Fugitive Slave Law from Old England. This is their own, from first to last. They made it, and now they shelter themselves under it. Why, any crime may be justified after this fashion. You have only to turn a bad thing into the form of a legal enactment, and then, forsooth, bad though it be, it must be done—because it has been enacted! Their logic and their morality are both bad alike. But, not at all unnaturally, the evil multiplies. I have said, that the habeas corpus act is nullified. I have to say, moreover, that the other great constitutional bulwark of human liberty, trial by jury, is overthrown. At least in the following case it was overthrown:—A trial for having aided the escape of Frederick Minkins was commencing, when the counsel for the prosecution interposed two questions, which the court allowed—"1, Have you any



doubts which would prevent you from finding a verdict [of guilty, if the court should instruct you that the law is constitutional? 2, Do you hold any opinion in respect to the Fugitive Slave Law which would prevent you from finding a verdict, if the facts are proved against the accused?" These questions were actually put to the jury, and the trial did not proceed until the counsel was satisfied that the jury were personally in favour of the law for delivering the negro to his pursuers, whether the evidence of their so-called claim to him was complete or not. What had the prosecutor, I ask, to do with the private opinions of the jurors? By what right did the court permit the case of the accused to be thus prejudiced? However, it was done. And things quite as bad are being done every day—slavery being the prolific parent of them all. This was done not long ago. There is a village called Liberty in the county of Salem, in the State of North Carolina. You would hardly believe that the words "Salem" and "Liberty" could ever have been associated with such an incident as this. The Rev. Mr. McBride gave away a tract, entitled "The Ten Commandments," to a little girl. For this he was arraigned, and after a lengthy and formal trial he was sentenced to stand in the pillory one hour, to receive twenty stripes, and to suffer imprisonment one year! Fearfully consistent, Sir, are these American slaveholders and slave-dealers. The Fugitive Slave Law just represents the whole thing. There is no mercy for the black man. So thinks the Rev. Mr. Beecher, whose words I quote—"We solemnly appeal to Christians of every name, to all sober and humane men, to all who love mankind, to behold and to ponder this iniquity which is done among us. This is no abstract question. Shall an army of wretched victims, without a crime, unconvicted of wrong, pursuing honest occupations, be sent back to slavery, loathsome and detestable? If, in God's providence, fugitives ask bread or shelter, raiment or conveyance, at our hands, my own children shall lack bread before the fugitive slave shall ask in vain. I will shelter them. I will conceal them. I will speed their flight. While under my shelter, they shall be to me as my own flesh and blood. The man who shall obey this law shall never pollute my hand with his friendship, nor cast his swarthy shadow across my threshold. I will cheerfully take the pains and the penalties of the Bill. Bonds and fines will be my honour; imprisonment my passport to fame!" (Here a gentleman on the platform exclaimed, "There are half a million of us Americans who say just the same as Mr. Beecher.") Then, said Mr. Brock, there is hope for America after all! You are the salt of the earth there, and such salt as has not lost its savour. We bid you and your brethren God speed. But, Mr. Chairman, we are told that inasmuch as this Fugitive Slave Law is the law of the country, it is reverently to be obeyed as long as it remains law. But do these pro-slavery gentlemen deem anything obligatory because it happens to be law? We in England remember the three worthies, who said, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." We remember that "when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his closet, and prayed as he did aforetime." We recollect the question of the apostles, "whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." Yes, and we remember how the Jews said, about the Redeemer of mankind, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die." Nevertheless, it was with wicked hands they did crucify him. Men may act upon the law; but if the law be bad, their action will be a crime. Even our philosophic statesmen lay this down, that law is not always to be obeyed, whether right or wrong. What saith Lord John Russell? whom I quote the more confidently because he is sure to be on the safe side. He says, "I apprehend few men will now deny that resistance to a Government may sometimes be not only justifiable as an enterprise, but imperative as a duty." But how extraordinary that the men of the United States should be such resolute sticklers for the rigid observance of mere law! Where would the States have been but for deliberate and organised resistance to law? Have the Americans forgotten the opposition made by their fathers to the famous Stamp Act? Why, did they not toll all the church bells of Boston as the funeral knell of their allegiance to Great Britain? Did they not hoist the colours of their vessels half-mast high, in token of their renunciation of the mother country—that is, of their renunciation of law? Did not the council of Massachusetts enact that it was lawful to carry on business without the stamps? And do not the men of the United States meet every new year expressly to celebrate their independence of Great Britain, even their independence of their former rulers? And are these men the parties to defend the abomination we have described on the ground that it is law? Never was inconsistency so great. Law indeed there is, which we wish they would obey with the reverence its authority deserves. "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." That would settle the whole matter of slavery at once. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." I have great pleasure in moving the resolution:—

"Resolved,—That while this meeting have learned with the deepest regret and astonishment the tendency of the recent legislation of the United States to extend and perpetuate the system of slavery on the American continent, in flagrant opposition to their Declaration of Independence, in violation of every principle of humanity and justice, and in total contradiction of the benign spirit and precepts of Christianity, they more particularly remark the enactment of a most odious, inhuman, and

impious law for the recovery of fugitive slaves, who have sought refuge and protection from oppression in the free States; and they feel bound, both as men and as Christians, interested in the freedom and welfare of the human race, to denounce it as a gross outrage on the advancing civilisation and the religious sentiments of the age. That amidst the gloom occasioned by this retrograde policy of the United States Congress, this meeting hail with sincere satisfaction the enlightened and generous opposition of large bodies of the American people to the extension of slavery; and, more especially, their determination to seek, by all lawful means, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law; and, in the meantime, by well-considered measures, to defeat, as far as possible, its malign operation; this meeting, however, while it would express its entire sympathy with all who are thus engaged, would earnestly press on them the still higher duty of zealously promoting the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in every part of their Republic."

The rev. gentleman sat down amidst loud cheers.

The Rev. THOMAS BINNEY rose to second the resolution. He said he should put the quotation from Moses Stuart, that had been read by Mr. Owen, a little differently to what that gentleman had done; he should ask, what had the slaveholders to do with the law of Moses at all? They did not think themselves bound by it in every respect; then why refer to it for support in this one instance? That being the case, he should consider it a work of supererogation to follow Mr. Owen through his argument. He looked upon that law, in connexion with the Mosaic dispensation, as a gradually progressive step in the Divine arrangements. But when the prophet stood up among the people, he was commissioned to proclaim the Divine will, to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. That was the only fair way of putting this part of the question. The dispensation under which the pro-slavery men of the present day lived, was the dispensation of Christianity. They were living in a land where they understood the difference of their position, and they were not to go back again to the "beggarly elements" of a former dispensation. One argument of an orthodox minister, a Mr. Rogers, when a slave asked him to stand between him and his master, was, "This slave asks me to take a nation's life, and I will not do it, because I have a conscience, and because there is a God." He proceeded, however, to affirm that if resistance was made to the Fugitive Slave Law, and if the magistrates required help in the matter, their duty would be to obey, and if ordered to take human life, in the name of God to take it. How would such a man expound the parable of the Good Samaritan? He would surely find it exceedingly difficult. In the paper he held in his hand was an interesting account of William Williams, the coachman of Presidents Polk, Taylor, and Phillimore. He was formerly a slave. By his earnings, however, he had saved money and bought himself off. But one morning this man beheld his wife and family taken from his home and carried off to Baltimore, to be sent to New Orleans as slaves. He had three daughters and three grandchildren, who were sold. When parted from them the poor man fell to the ground in an agony of despair. Subscriptions having, however, been set on foot, some of the family were released from the bonds of slavery, and the rest of them, it was hoped, would soon be free. At the time they were sold, however, they were set up like the Greek slave in the Great Exhibition. It really seemed to him, with reference to that image, as if the Americans were visited with a sort of judicial blindness in the selection. They got a Greek slave. They saw, in fact, the coming darkness looming over them in the distance, and then they exhibited the worst taste possible by placing a Greek slave there, and, beside the figure, placing a man with a stick to turn it round, precisely as they would do were they trafficking in human sinew and bone. He never saw before such an act of judicial blindness, illustrating and exhibiting a nation's own disgrace. Some time ago, in a pro-slavery paper, appeared an advertisement to the following effect:—"Catch a minister! 250 dollars for any one who will catch a Methodist preacher." The advertisement proceeded to give a personal description of the individual. The circumstances created great sensation among the audience while being read by Mr. Binney, and the rev. gentleman having expressed the pleasure he felt in seconding the resolution, resumed his seat amid the cheers of the assembly.

The Rev. HENRY GARNETT, in rising to support the resolution, said, he who felt not, on that occasion, every sentiment of liberty and humanity quickened within him, must, indeed, be very cold and very dull. He was happy to stand in Exeter-hall, in that old arena where, in other days, so many battles in liberty's cause had been fought, and not only fought, but won. True, many who stood in the front of that glorious battle were not there that evening. They could not, on looking round, see in that assembly a Sharpe or a Clarkson, a Wilberforce or a Buxton, an Allen or a Knibb, and many others; but still there were some who stood by the side of those illustrious men on their platform now, and they felt themselves strong men—men like unto those to whom God had given strength sufficient for their day and for their triumphs. It had been said, by their esteemed chairman, that it became them to be very careful as to how they referred to any American, because they were such very touchy people. Well, he knew that, and sometimes these very touchy people did not like to be touched themselves at all. But they had touched several of those who were on that platform, and sure he felt it was but right he should touch them a little. He desired to address



himself to the subject of American slavery. He need not say how deeply he sympathised with all he had heard of the objects of the Anti-slavery Society. They were objects that must commend themselves to the hearts of all true Christians and philanthropists, so far as they were known; and the objects of the Society would never be accomplished until slavery and the slave-trade were abolished throughout the world, and there should not be found, among all the coloured men on earth, a single man that should be left in the condition of a chattel slave,—they would not be accomplished till the doctrine of the New Testament was realised, "God hath made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth,"—not until mankind really felt that they were brethren, bound together by the bonds of universal affection and freedom. Now, what was America's plea on behalf of slavery? Standing up with unblushing front before the world, she said, she was not responsible for slavery, but that Great Britain was responsible. She, the mother country, it was falsely said, entailed upon America the whole responsibility of slaveholding, and America would gladly get rid of it if she could. Would an English audience believe this? He would not. The Americans were accustomed to say, that the English understood not the principles of liberty and equality. They would point to their Declaration of Independence. Well, look at it as it floated upon every breeze of heaven. Those very principles England held as affecting all men created equal, and endowed with inalienable rights. How did the Americans carry out the principle they had themselves laid down? In 1776, there was a provision made in England for levying a tax upon America. The proclamation was made in Boston; and they instantly commenced a universal plan of drowning all the tea sent from England, that laid in their harbours. So much tea was drowned at the time, that the harbour was nothing less than a gigantic teapot. Now, what was the reason of this? Because England had trespassed upon American liberty. America was standing firm to maintain a great principle, namely, that she would not endure the impost of the tax. The tax was opposed with the utmost zeal. At last the nations fought. The battle commenced at Concord, was carried on at Lexington, and reached to Bunker's-hill, until it extended to the South, and the whole country was in arms; the result being victory on the part of the Americans, and all for the sake of maintaining those great principles for which she started. With all these things before the Americans—with these significant historical facts staring them in the face, is it to be said that they are now lost to this great question of liberty and freedom? Look again, and a few years after this battle and victory the scene becomes changed,—thousands of their fellow-men are hurried to the decks, put on board vessels crowded with grape-shot to discharge from the cannon, if a brother man do but raise up his arm to rescue from slavery. Now, Boston was called the cradle of liberty. If it were the cradle, they had managed to rock the cradle so hard that it had killed the baby. But he would say a word with regard to the ministers of the United States. Without being carried away by the heat of excitement, he would say, that the stronghold of slavery—the bulwarks of American slavery rather—were founded within the American church. It had been said, and there was, unfortunately, too much truth in it, that were there no slavery in the American church, there was not power enough, without the operation of the laws of that church, to keep it in existence a single day. But that detestable law had passed, and the deed was done. At a period when mankind were adorning the Crystal Palace, and nations were gathered thither from various parts of the globe to pay their tribute to England, what had America done for the world! Calling herself the mother of Republicanism, she found France following her example; and she said, "Look at France, she is our child." But let them compare America with France. Seventy years had passed in the Republic of America, and during these seventy years of probation, some beautiful specimens of law had presented themselves! Among others, the Fugitive Slave Law. And France,—what had she done, with her Republic? Why, on the contrary, she proclaimed throughout her colonies the freedom of the slave, and struck off his chains and his shackles. Now, what was it that supported in America this abominable system? Who was it, that by pen and ink sustained it? Men who denied the existence of a God?—No. Men who were carried away with infidelity?—No, not professedly so. But it was the Rev. Moses Stuart, Professor in Andover College, and the Rev. Dr. Cox, who had before stood on that very platform, though other places were more appropriate to him then. Dr. Cox was a warm supporter of the law on all points. He was subject to mental changes, and had lately performed a somersault from Abolitionism to Colonisation. He said that what the law established as property to a master, that was property. Was it possible that such a course of reasoning could be adopted and acted upon? The words which had been read were of striking emphasis—"If one prayer would emancipate all the slaves in America, and over the world, I would not dare to utter that prayer." Dr. Lord, of Buffalo, said and acted upon the rule,—“When a slave comes to me, it is *primâ facie* evidence he is a bad man.” But why so? “Because he has run away.” Sometimes, however, the slave did get away, and he passed over the river to Canada, smiling, as it were, in the face of heaven, lifting up its hands, and ready to receive upon its bosom the panting, fugitive slave. He places his feet upon the soil, he turns his back upon the flag of his country, and, when in the land of free-

dom, there is not sufficient power in all the dominions of America to drag that man back again to his native soil. An individual cried “No, no,” when the question was asked, could such a man be received into English churches. He would venture to say that no Englishman would suffer them to enter an English church, or sit at their communion-tables. You could not make these slaveholders believe that the acts were criminal to kick their slaves at one moment, drive them at another, and, when they escaped, bring them back again into slavery; having done this, they would come, with hypocritical gesture, and say, “God knows we love your souls.” Such conduct was as painful as it was contemptible. Neither were they in America asleep upon this matter. The people were beginning to take the subject into their own hands, and the franchise was extending, and the day was expected when America would become the home of the brave, and would not have to hide her face in shame and contempt, to do which she was now compelled.

The CHAIRMAN, on putting the resolution, which was unanimously carried, stated that France presented a striking contrast to America, in that upon emancipating her slaves she had granted them likewise the elective franchise. (The announcement was received with loud cheers.)

ELIHU BURRITT rose to move—

“Resolved,—That looking at the fact that the demand for slave produce in the markets of the world is one of the chief causes of perpetuating the atrocious system of slavery and the slave-trade, this meeting would recommend, as far as practicable, the disuse of such produce; and would call upon the friends of the enslaved, in every country, to encourage the consumption of such articles of commerce only as are produced by the compensated labour of freemen.”

The resolution put into his hands was one of the most important that could be adopted by the friends of anti-slavery in this or any other country, and seldom had slavery met with a more animated and eloquent remonstrance. It was the only one in which the friends of the slave of all countries could unite, without trenching upon the somewhat hazardous ground of legislative or political agitation. They would aim a deadly blow at slavery, if at all public meetings with reference to this subject, some such resolution were agreed to. Not that this measure was proposed as a substitute to any other. It was designed to be in itself an emphatic protest against the use and consumption of slave-grown produce.

GEORGE WILLIAM HARRISON, Esq., of Wakefield, in seconding the resolution, said the principle involved in it, the condemning a practice so universally carried out, was quite necessary to give emphasis to the language they had listened to this evening, and to gain for it approval and sanction.

The Rev. AMOS DRESSER rose to move—

“Resolved,—That, notwithstanding the vicious legislation, the heavy and unjust taxation, and the serious disadvantages to which the emancipated classes in the British colonies have been subjected since the period when slavery was abolished, this meeting are of opinion that there is ample evidence to prove that they have greatly increased in number, in intelligence, and in respectability; and would express the high gratification it has afforded them, to learn that they have, under many trying and painful circumstances, conducted themselves in such a manner as to entitle them to the respect, confidence, and good-will of their friends in this country.”

Mr. THOMAS BIGNOLD briefly seconded the resolution.

The usual vote of thanks being passed to the chairman the meeting separated.

## Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—July 14th.

### THE SLAVE-TRADE.

On the vote of £60,000 for the expenses of captured Africans, and charges under the acts for the abolition of the slave-trade,

Mr. HUME wished to know what step had been taken by the Government with reference to the slave-trade?

Lord PALMERSTON said that the greater stringency which had been given in the course of last year to the measures for suppressing the slave-trade, both on the coast of Africa and on the coast of Brazil, had been attended with the happiest effects; with more rapid success than could have been expected. On the coast of Africa, indeed, the slave-trade might be said to have been almost extinguished north of the line, for the moment, at all events, with the exception of the two points of Lagos and Porto Novo. The people along the coast said that the British cruisers had spoiled their trade in slaves, and, as a consequence, men who had been hitherto exclusively engaged in that trade were now applying themselves to trade in palm-oil, ground-nuts, ivory, and other products of the country. Those acquainted with the slave-trade in that direction said that the propensity to this trade now lingered only in the minds of the chiefs, who were attracted by the presents they had been in the habit of receiving from the slave dealers; but that the people of the country generally were not only willing but desirous to direct their attention to legitimate traffic in the productions of their respective districts; their notion before had been that the only commodities for which the British would give their goods were slaves, but now that this fallacy was dispelled they were anxious to open up a legitimate trade with us in legitimate articles. There were already great efforts making on different parts of the coast of Africa to improve and extend the growth of cotton, and the result had been the production of considerable samples of a quality calculated to fetch a good price in our market, while the quantity yielded gave every prospect of a large supply. So far, then, as the slave-trade in the



Portuguese settlements on that coast was concerned, there was a most material diminution to be announced. The Portuguese Government had very actively, and, he believed, very cordially and very sincerely co-operated with the British admirals and the British consular officers on all the stations there, in the suppression of the trade. It was only a few of the inferior Portuguese officers who had yielded to the temptations of the slave-traders; but it might be affirmed that at Loanda, and the other principal Portuguese stations on the coast, the slave-trade was so paralysed that most of the slave-traders had suspended their business, and many had altogether transferred their ships, their capital, and their energies to trade of a legitimate character. On the eastern coast of Africa, the Imaum of Muscat had, in the course of last year, afforded facilities to us which in former years he had altogether withheld: and the consequence had been, that in the rivers towards the southern extremities of his dominions, where a great slave-trade had hitherto been carried on for the supply of Brazilian and Portuguese traders, barracoons had been lately destroyed capable of holding several thousands of slaves. On the coast of Africa, then, by the vigilance of our cruisers, by the effect of our treaties with native chiefs, treaties, he was happy to say, observed, almost universally, with the greatest fidelity; by the progress made by Liberia, within the extensive territories of which country the slave-trade was suspended; and by the hearty co-operation of the Portuguese, French, and American officers, for whose zealous, active, and intelligent aid our commodore expressed the deepest gratitude—very much, indeed, had been done towards effecting the great object for which this country had so long and so energetically laboured. The chief point to which the African slave-trade had been formerly directed was the coast of Brazil, and the inquiries instituted by the committees which had inquired into the subject, showed the enormous number of slaves who used every year to be landed on that coast. In the early part of last year, the British cruisers, which had been for a long time detained in the River Plate, in consequence of the unfortunate differences between this country and Buenos Ayres, were enabled to concentrate more on the coast of Brazil, and to conduct their operations there more actively and more effectually. Earnest communications, moreover, took place with the Government of Brazil, and the consequence was, that the Brazilian Government, in September last, passed an additional law for the purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, which it declared to be piracy, and for the perpetration of which it enacted more stringent punishment; and, altogether, Government had exerted that vigour, and put forth that power in the suppression of the trade which, in his opinion, it ought long since to have exerted. The consequence was, that in the course of the last eight months they had almost extinguished the trade with Brazil, so that the number of slaves brought into Brazil, in 1850, was not half the number imported in former years; and, taking the first quarter of the present year, up to April, he believed that only a few hundreds of slaves had been landed in Brazil, instead of the several thousands which had been landed there in former years. In a word, the Government of Brazil had of late co-operated most efficiently with us towards accomplishing this great object. We had laboured under a great misconception in supposing that the Brazilian nation, as a nation, were clinging to this trade. The case was, that a certain number of Portuguese factors, whose large capital had given them influence over the minds of persons in authority, had been the only persons actively promoting it, so that the interest in favour of the trade in Brazil might be considered altogether factitious, and not the result of any national feeling. There had been in the course of the last few years a powerful, active, intelligent anti-slavery party growing up in Brazil, acknowledged by the Government, supported by newspapers, and having representatives in the Parliament of Brazil. The result of all this was, that the Brazilian Government had lately employed several cruisers to co-operate with the British in seizing slave-traders on the coast, and in destroying barracoons there. It had further released a number of slaves who had been carried inland, and dispersed among the plantations, and several persons engaged in the slave-trade there, whom, as foreigners, that Government had not been able efficiently to deal with in any other way, had been banished. He had heard, from very good authority, that a great number of Portuguese hitherto engaged in the Brazilian slave-trade had retired from their business; no fewer than 140 such, previously settled in Brazil, and engaged in that trade, had been named to him by consuls in Portugal as having retired, and invested their capital in legitimate traffic, utterly despairing of the future success of the slave-trade. A British naval officer lately from Brazil had informed him that one slave merchant alone—a member of the Fonseca family—had lost, in consequence of the late active operations, no fewer than eighty-one vessels, each of the estimated value of £2,500. It might at once be judged how severe a blow the combined squadrons had inflicted upon the trade, when one individual engaged in it had alone lost nearly £200,000. He had been credibly informed that £1,200,000 floating capital in Brazil, previously engaged in the slave-trade, had been lately withdrawn from that pursuit, and invested in a bank in Lisbon. The other day, the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs—the Baron Olinda—declared in the Brazilian Parliament that he considered the slave-trade as practically at an end, as extinguished by the universal voice of all civilised nations, and he explained the demoralisation and the pernicious effect which the slave-trade had occasioned in that country. The Brazilians had, indeed, had a sound lesson in that respect, for every one knew the degree in which that terrible pestilence, imported not long since into Brazil from Africa, had destroyed the population along the coast, including in its ravages many persons of wealth and consideration. Thus, then, both in Africa and in Brazil, the origin and main destination of the slave-trade, had that trade become almost extinguished. That this suppression would be permanent he had the most confident anticipations, provided that the watchfulness of the preventive squadrons, under the zealous supervision of public opinion, here and elsewhere, was preserved for some time yet; and he was confident therein, upon what he believed to be sound reasoning. In Africa, the native chiefs who had betaken themselves to legitimate traffic were finding out the fact, that it was more profitable to themselves than the slave-trade. Civilisation, too, was there doing its great work; and the missionaries, no longer impeded by the jealous prejudices of the chiefs, were now diffusing, more widely and more effectively, the light and the blessings of Christianity, with all its attendant blessings; while, in Brazil, as well as in Africa, all were beginning to find out that the slave-trade and slave-labour had been and must ever be the ruin—the destruction of any country that made use of the one or the other. It was now openly

declared in the Brazilian Parliament, that the employment of slave-labour involved the ruin of agriculture. The Brazilian Government had hitherto employed slave-labour in all its public works, upon roads, buildings, upon everything. The other day the Government gunpowder factory, worked by slaves, blew up—he would not stay to inquire whether by accident or otherwise—and the whole stock was destroyed. The Government had hence derived a lesson that slave labour should no longer be used in that department; it had found out, further, that slave labour in other departments of the State, in docks, in arsenals, fortresses, and so on, was as little eligible in any respect; and assuredly not so cheap as free labour. Hence there were not only the slaves to keep, who did the work, but there were superintendents, and a good many of them, too, also to be kept to overlook the work, and to keep the whip going so as to get any work done at all. It was quite lamentable to read the statements in the Brazilian Parliament of the condition of that fine country; no roads, no education, no justice, none of the attributes of civilisation; but it was gratifying to find, at the same time, that the speakers who pointed out these evils, pointed out also the past existence of slavery in the empire as a main cause of these evils. As the result of the discussion on this subject, a very great and most encouraging change of opinion had for some time been operating on the public mind of Brazil on the matter, and he was quite satisfied that the same discussions, carried on for some time longer, would create throughout the empire a sentiment of aversion for the slave-trade and for slavery, which would effectually put it out of the power of the Government, even if at any time so disposed, to renew the atrocious traffic.

Sir J. PAKINGTON thought it of material consequence that Parliament should be put into possession of the whole of the facts of this important declaration, and should know what the Brazilian Government really had done. An impression generally prevailed, though he was not aware upon what it was founded, that, though this traffic had decreased in Brazil, it had increased in Cuba.

Lord PALMERSTON said that the papers upon the subject should be laid upon the table. The Government of Brazil had concluded a treaty with Great Britain in 1826, by which they stipulated that the Brazilian slave-trade should be piracy, and that any Brazilian subject who engaged in it should be deemed and treated as a pirate; and upon that the act of 1845 had been passed by the late Government. The Brazilian Government, however, had never enacted a law inflicting the penalty of piracy upon the crime; in fact, they had not fulfilled their engagement. With regard to Cuba, the slave-trade had been reduced in that country, as compared with Brazil, to a very low amount. He believed that, of late, owing to the mortality among the slaves in Cuba from cholera, there had been symptoms on the part of those engaged in the trade, to impart to it a greater degree of activity; but the Spanish Government had given their assurance that they would do their utmost to prevent it, and he had no reason to believe that there had been any great increase of the slave-trade in Cuba. The quarter, however, from which Cuba had been principally supplied, had been the coast of Africa to the north of the line, and it was exactly in that part of Africa that the operations by treaty and by the vigilance of the squadron had been most successful.

Mr. DENISON, Mr. HUME, Mr. FORSTER, and Sir T. D. ACLAND, expressed their satisfaction at the results referred to by the noble lord.

Sir E. N. BUXTON also thanked Lord Palmerston for his personal endeavours to put an end to the slave-trade. It was remarkable that this change in the feeling of the people of Brazil had taken place when our cruisers upon the coast of Africa had been stimulated to new exertions, and when cruisers had also been placed upon the coast of Brazil.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said it was the opinion of Admiral Fanshawe, who had lately returned from the coast of Africa, that if the squadron were continued, the slave-trade would be greatly diminished, and that the expense would be considerably reduced, but that it would not be safe to make that reduction at the present time.

After a few words from Sir G. B. PEACHELL, and Lord H. VANE, the vote was agreed to.

July 18th.

On the question that £50,000 be granted for civil contingencies,

Mr. HUTT said that, although unable to concur in all the noble lord stated on a former occasion, he was bound to admit that the slave-trade had recently undergone a remarkable diminution; indeed, it had reached a lower point than at any previous period during the present century. That was a gratifying fact, and it was far from his intention to deny that much credit was due to the energy of the noble lord. Let us not, however, be misled by appearances, or be induced by the representations of the noble lord to mistake our present position or future prospects with respect to this question. It would be absurd to suppose that a squadron, which had been inoperative for thirty years, had all of a sudden become wonderfully efficient. The real cause of the diminution of the slave-trade was to be found in the changed policy of the Brazilian Government.

Lord PALMERSTON said his hon. friend had adverted to the very honourable and proper course which the Government of Brazil was at present pursuing. The circumstances which led to that course were many, and the causes were various, both external and internal. There had been, no doubt, a great change produced in the public opinion in Brazil. Perhaps it was not that the change in public opinion had been so great, as that the expression of that opinion, which had long prevailed in Brazil on the subject, was more freely given. The party in Brazil who supported the slave-trade, and who practised it, were chiefly foreigners, the greater part being Portuguese, while the real Brazilians had long felt that the slave-trade was not only a disgrace but a curse to the country. He must tell his hon. friend that there were two parties in Brazil—a party, on the one hand, who practised, patronised and supported the slave-trade; and a party, on the other hand, who, from patriotic and enlightened feelings, wished to see it cease; and that both those parties looked most anxiously to the result of the committee over which his hon. friend presided. When the report of that committee appeared, and before it was known what would be the opinion which the House of Commons would pronounce thereupon, everything that was corrupt and disgraceful in Brazil clung to the report; but when the opinion of the Government was known to be in opposition to that report, then everything that was honourable and patriotic in the country was anxious that the British Government should persevere in the course which it had hitherto pursued. His hon. friend had said that he must not trust to the continuance of that which now



existed, or assume that it would be permanent, but while expressing that opinion, he made a little mistake. He said that the price of slaves in the Brazils at present varied, from what it was a short time ago, by 100 per cent. The fact was so, but it was in the opposite direction to what he imagined it to be. His hon. friend said that the price of slaves was 100 per cent. lower than what it had been. Now he (Lord Palmerston) had the best authority for stating that the price of slaves had risen 100 per cent. He believed the price of slaves in January last was double what it had been in the preceding year. His hon. friend was also mistaken in regard to the amount of slave importation into Brazil in 1850. It was quite true that in the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, the amount of importation of slaves was very great, but in the year 1850 it was rather less than half of what was imported in the previous year. But, after all, he agreed with his hon. friend, that, however great their success in the suppression of the slave-trade at present might have been, it was not as yet complete. They must not reckon upon the great object they sought for being accomplished speedily, or for some time to come, permanently. They must still continue to exert those means which had already produced so salutary a change; and they must make it their object to give to the Brazilian party who wished to get rid of the slave-trade that support which would enable them to accomplish the results all must desire to see effected. They might then anticipate at no distant period that this country would have cause to rejoice at the success of the continuance in a persevering and generous determination on the part of the British nation; by which—and that not owing to the conduct of this or that Government, but to a spontaneous national feeling—the great work so ardently desired would have been accomplished; a work which—if it were true that nations as well as individuals reaped the benefit or the punishment of good or bad actions—would, he trusted, tell to the lasting advantage of the British people.

Mr. GIBSON had always considered the interference of the squadron on the coast of Africa, while unable to prevent the slave-trade, was calculated to increase the horrors of the middle passage. The noble lord had admitted that the slave-trade increased during the years 1847–48–49, and that it was only when the Brazilian Government was acted upon by public opinion that the change had taken place. He had always contended that there was only one power which could put down the slave-trade in Brazil, and that was the formation of a public opinion in Brazil.

Mr. CARDWELL entirely agreed in the opinion that the squadron, in itself, was not effectual to suppress the slave-trade; but there was an inconsistency in the argument of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Gibson). He said that the squadron was not effectual, but that the policy of the Brazilian Government had been effectual in diminishing the slave-trade. But what had caused the policy of the Brazilian Government? It had been stated that in the early part of 1850 the slave-trade was in full vigour, but that in the latter part of that year it had greatly diminished. Now what happened in 1850? There was upon the table of the House a report, which he was sorry to say had been sanctioned by a committee, recommending the abolition of the squadron. That was known to the Brazilians, and those who fostered the slave-trade took encouragement from it. But when the report was brought before the House, the noble lord (Lord Palmerston) resisted it with all the force of the Government, and then the Brazilian slave-trade no longer prospered. It was in the latter part of the year 1850, that the slave-trade in the Brazils was reduced. The knowledge that the British Parliament had reversed the decision of the committee wrought a powerful change upon the counsels of the Brazilian Government.

After a few observations from Sir ROBERT H. INGLIS, the vote was agreed to.

#### AMERICAN FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

At a meeting of the Cork Anti-slavery Society, held at Lloyd's Hotel, 27th May, 1851, James Lambkin, Esq., Mayor of Cork, in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Proposed by Andrew F. Roche, Ald., J. P., seconded by Alex. King, A.M.,—"That we have observed with pain and sorrow the course pursued by the legislature of the United States with reference to slavery, and hereby express our deep abhorrence of some of its recent enactments, more especially the iniquitous 'Fugitive Slave Law' passed during last session of Congress, which affords so strong an evidence of the continued and determined opposition of that Government to a course consistent with justice and mercy, that we cannot but consider it a wilful perseverance in an unrighteous system which has been long proved to be not less at variance with the soundest principles of enlightened policy, than repugnant to the plainest obligations of morality and religion."

Proposed by Richard Doden (Rd.) Alderman, seconded by Nicholas Peterson:—"That we desire to express our hearty sympathy with the millions of our oppressed fellow-men, still held in chains in that land of boasted freedom, as well as with the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout America, whom we would fain cheer on in their arduous struggle on behalf of suffering humanity, amidst the difficulties and perils surrounding them; and earnestly beseech our fellow-professors of the Christian name in that country to put away from them this enormous evil, and to afford every assistance to those noble-minded men who are labouring to efface from the national escutcheon so deep and foul a stain."

Proposed by William Deeble; seconded by Farmer Lloyd:—"That these resolutions be advertised in each of the three leading Cork papers, as well as in a leading journal in Dublin and London, and that the secretary be directed to take steps to have them published as extensively as possible in the United States newspaper press, and also transmit a copy to the secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society."

JAMES LAMBKIN, Chairman.

SAMUEL BEAL, Secretary.

At the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Southern Unitarian Society, held at Wareham, on the 9th of July, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this meeting, regarding slavery as an open violation of the eternal laws of God, and of the inalienable rights of man, views with the deepest horror the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, as tending to prolong and aggravate that enormous evil, involving in its guilt that portion of the United States hitherto regarded as the land of the free; and it embraces this opportunity of expressing the warmth of its sympathy with those brethren of the same pure faith in America, who have so nobly come forward to avow their resolution to suffer the penalty of the law, rather than comply with its cruel and unholy requisitions, with its earnest prayer that they may be supported in their arduous struggle in favour of human rights by that all-gracious Being, who, though he may subject his servants to much tribulation, will, we are assured, abundantly recompense every work of faith and labour of love."

A somewhat similar resolution was passed by the Kent and Sussex Unitarian Christian Association.

At a general meeting of the Unitarians of Devonport, held at the chapel in Granby-street, in July last, the following resolution upon the subject of the "peculiar institution" of the United States was unanimously agreed to:—"That the members of this society, devoutly believing that God has created of one blood all the families of the earth, and being instructed by the holy apostle that the mind of man is the chosen temple of God's Holy Spirit, are moved with feelings of deep shame and humiliation at the prospect of a perpetuation in the United States of the great sin of slavery, through the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law; and the members of this society are more especially grieved that so iniquitous an act should have received the sanction of some of the most eminent professors of our faith, as they have thereby greatly damaged their usefulness as expounders of the moral law of God, and brought great discredit upon our common Christianity."

#### OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF THE UNITED STATES.

Our files continue to afford us instances of the cruel operation of the Fugitive Slave Law. In some cases, where the friends of the poor slave are not immediately on the alert, the whole matter is decided without the least intimation being given to those who might be ready to afford assistance. As an affecting instance of this summary mode of procedure we give the following from the *Philadelphia Sun*:—

##### FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE IN WEST CHESTER.

We see by the *Register* and *Examiner* that a fugitive slave case occurred there last Saturday morning. A young coloured woman, named Elizabeth Williams, who had been convicted, at last January court, of the larceny of some money, and sentenced to five months' imprisonment in the county gaol, was discharged on Saturday morning at four o'clock. She was immediately arrested at the prison door, by Milton Lapham, acting as deputy United States Marshal, and taken before Jas. L. Jones, Esq., United States Commissioner, charged with being a fugitive from labour, from Newcastle county, in the State of Delaware. Here, without friends, without counsel, with no one present but the Commissioner, the Marshal, the claimant or his agent, and his counsel, F. Pennington, Esq., in an almost incredibly short space of time she was delivered to the claimant or his agent, who put her into a close waggon and drove rapidly from the State.

The following cases are hardly less affecting:—

##### FUGITIVE SLAVE FROM WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

June 23rd, at noon, Geo. H. Roset, Esq., assistant U. S. Marshal for the western district of Pennsylvania, reached Philadelphia in the Reading cars, having in custody Jesse Whitman, a fugitive slave, whom he arrested at Wilkesbarre, on Saturday last. Marshal Roset was accompanied by Messrs. W. H. Beaumont, Jacob Cooper, and George Fell, who assisted in Whitman's capture.

Marshal Keyser having telegraphed to meet the partisans at the dépôt, was promptly on the spot with an efficient police force, and accompanied the United States officers and their charge to the Baltimore boat, on which they took passage for Maryland at two o'clock. Whitman is a large, powerful negro, and fought desperately, before surrendering himself. He struck Marshal Roset twice upon the head with a heavy cart-whip, and drew a large sheath knife, which he would doubtless have used, had it not been for the timely and efficient aid of Messrs. Beaumont, Fell, Cooper, and Seaman. Whitman belongs to John Conrad, of London county, Virginia. The matter was managed so quietly, as far as Philadelphia was concerned, that very few persons heard of either the arrival or departure of the fugitive. Some of the coloured porters, wood-sawyers, stevedores, and other employes along the wharves, indulged in threats, but they were overawed by the presence of the officers of the law, and made no attempt at rescue. An effort was made to detain the slave by a writ of habeas corpus, but the boat shoved off before it could be executed. —*Cleveland True Democrat*.

The *Ledger* of the 24th says:—Yesterday, a petition was presented to Judge Parsons, signed by a coloured man named Cornish, applying for a writ of habeas corpus to bring up the body of a coloured man whose



name was unknown to the petitioner, on the ground that he was in the custody of Captain Davis, of the steamboat "Thomas Powell," and was detained for no offence of a criminal character. The writ was accordingly issued, but he was prevented from executing it, and the person designated by the relator was taken away on the boat. We are informed that he had been claimed as a fugitive slave at Tamaqua, and after a hearing before the United States Commissioner of the Western District, had been remanded into the custody of his owner, and was being taken south. A police force was in attendance at the boat, but very few persons appeared to know anything of the case, and consequently there was no crowd and but little excitement.

Happily for the cause of the oppressed, anti-slavery feeling and sentiment, if not triumphant, is nevertheless influential, and exerts itself in manifold instances for the benefit of the down-trodden slave. The following case shows the value of timely aid being secured, and the consequences which might result, if the slave power were allowed to pursue their heartless course uncontrolled.

#### SLAVE HUNT IN CHICAGO.

Four days of the past week, says the *Western Citizen*, have been fruitful of incident and interest. A person who has been a resident of Chicago, for several months past, has been arrested by the United States Marshal, charged with no crime, but that of being born contrary to the Declaration of Independence. The arrest was made on the afternoon of Monday, the 2d inst., by the United States Marshal, assisted by three or four constables, and agents, persons of most despicable characters, as might be inferred from the business. The arrest was made in a quiet part of the city, on State Street. The victim was walking by himself, upon the side-walk, when he was seized by two men. He made an effort to escape, and threw the assailants from him, screamed for help, ran, and stumbling fell to the ground, when he was seized by the legs by his pursuers, dragged and thrown into a waggon. His cries aroused the attention of the women of the neighbourhood; no men, not interested in the business, seem to have been witnesses of the transaction. It is reported that he was gagged, but this is denied.

As soon as it was known that the arrest had been made, Mr. Freer went immediately to the Court-room and volunteered as the counsel for the prisoner. Messrs. Larned and Manniere also came forward immediately as volunteer counsel, and most admirably managed the case to its final successful issue, assisted by those whose names are also mentioned. Lasting honour, love, and gratitude are due to these gentlemen for their defence of the helpless fugitive.

On Thursday the examination before the Commissioner closed, and on Friday, at two o'clock, the decision was given. At the appointed time, the Court-room was filled to a perfect jam, and the stairways and passages to the room filled up by a mass of quiet, but deeply-interested and determined men. Nine-tenths of them were the friends of the slave. They were men of conscience and principle, generally the mechanics of Chicago, many of these, the Scotch and English, and the intelligent Germans, who had left the old country for a land of freedom, and cherished it here, not alone for the share which they, as individuals, were permitted to have of it.

#### DECISION OF THE COMMISSIONER.

Upon the opening of the Court, the Commissioner gave the following as the ground for his decision:—

"That the record was defective in not expressly showing on its face that the negro described in it was a slave and owed service at the time it was made. The record states that the negro escaped on the 4th of July, 1850, *non constant* that he may have returned to Missouri before this record was made, and been afterwards voluntarily brought into Illinois, in which case he would have been free; the record must negative every intendment of this kind, or will not be sufficient.

"That the record describes the man under arrest as copper-coloured; to the view of the Court he is black; and although testimony has been adduced to show that certain shades of black are denominated copper-coloured in Missouri, yet that as in making his certificate, if he were to grant one, he would be obliged to follow the description in the record, the man under the arrest on habeas corpus would be entitled to a discharge *on view*, by any judge before whom he might be taken, as not the person described in the certificate."

The Commissioner declined expressing any opinion on the other questions raised by the counsel for the prisoner; observing that they were grave in their character, but that the conclusion to which he had arrived rendered it unnecessary for him to decide them.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION.

##### Associate Presbytery of Clarion.

After a lengthened preamble the following resolutions were adopted. "Inasmuch as the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Law command what God forbids, and forbid what God commands:—

"1. Resolved,—That, notwithstanding the penalty of said law, we *will not do* what it commands, and we *will do* what it forbids—that is, we will do what God commands, and we will not do what He forbids;

we will feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and take in the stranger, *though he be a fugitive slave*, and we will hide the outcasts; we will not deliver unto his master the slave that is escaped from his master; we will not bewray him that wandereth.

"2. Resolved,—That we enjoin on the people under our care to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, take in the stranger, and hide the outcast, when fleeing from the oppressor—that they refuse to accept any office which under this law would bind them to aid in restoring fugitives—and that they refuse to obey all such officers, and that sessions be required to censure all who obey this law.

"3. Resolved,—That non-subjection to this law is not all our duty; we are bound to oppose this law as church courts, as ministers of the Gospel, as citizens and individuals—by petitioning for its speedy repeal, by conversation, and by fervent prayer to Almighty God, that he would 'judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress' (Psalm x. 18); that he 'would judge the poor of the people, save the children of the needy, and break in pieces the oppressor' (Psalm lxxii. 2).

"4. Resolved,—That we regard it as the imperative duty of church courts and ministers of the Gospel to enjoin on all the duty of conscientious subjection to the powers that be, in all their lawful commands; and that church courts should censure all under their jurisdiction who resist the lawful commands of the powers that be.

"5. Resolved,—That it is the duty of the church to aid those of her members in paying the fines that may be wrongfully imposed on them for doing what both the law of God and a good conscience require them to do.

"J. C. TELFORD, Pres. Clerk."

#### UNITED STATES — ANTI-SLAVERY CHRISTIAN CONVENTION.

This important and influential body met in Indianapolis, Indiana, on the 28th May last. Dr. Paxton was elected president *pro tem.*, and Nathan Homas, secretary.

Committees were appointed to choose officers for the Convention, to prepare business, and frame an address on the Fugitive Slave Law.

The committee appointed for the purpose reported the following officers, viz.:—A. McCoy, president; J. Paxton, vice-president; J. O'Neil, and M. C. White, secretaries.

Judge Stevens presented a series of resolutions, which he accompanied with a thrilling speech. The following are among the resolutions which were adopted by the Convention:—

"That American slavery is the most sinful, cruel, and merciless system that has prevailed in any civilised country, inasmuch as, under the light of the Gospel, it deprives men, not only guiltless, but unaccused, of crime, of every civil and religious right; denies them legal compensation for any wrong, however grievous; annihilates, in regard to them, the conjugal and parental relations; consigns them at pleasure to heathenism; withholds from them the Bible; and reduces them to the condition of brutes.

"That it is our right to condemn and by lawful means to abolish sinful institutions wherever existing; that it is the peculiar right of American citizens to express orally, or through the press, their opinions of the conduct of their representatives and of the laws passed by them; and that every attempt to prevent or control the free expression of opinion, is an outrage upon the constitutional rights of the citizens, and a dangerous assault upon the liberties of the country.

"That we never purposed to abolish slavery by any unconstitutional act, nor to infringe upon the rights of the States; our doctrine being universal, absolute, unconditional emancipation, without compensation; and our measures, under God, moral suasion and the ballot-box.

"That we deem the Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional and inhuman, a disgrace to the country, an outrage upon civil liberty, deserving the reprobation of every friend of God and man; and that it should be disobeyed by every person who is not willing, and does not deserve, to wear the chains and submit to the lash of Southern despots.

"That every man who has taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and who believes the Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional, is solemnly bound to oppose the enactment; and that, in the language of Mr. Justice McLean, 'An unconstitutional act of Congress imposes no obligation on a State, or the people of a State, and may be resisted by an individual or community.'

"That we believe that the late act of Congress for the recovery of fugitive slaves makes demands upon individuals to which they cannot yield obedience without a direct violation of the principles of love, mercy, and justice, given by the Saviour to his disciples; and that those professed ministers of the Redeemer who teach obedience to this law are false teachers, and unfaithful to the high and holy profession they have assumed.

"That now, therefore, is no time to sleep; it is no time to be dead; it is the time to wake, and work, and live anew in the cause; it is the time to do, and suffer, until liberty shall be enjoyed by all; it is the time for every one who claims to be a friend of the slave to lay his all upon the altar, to harness himself anew for the conflict, to throw himself into



the thickest of the fight, and instead of being discouraged and tempted to lay down arms by the untoward events of these times, to lay himself out to do still more and more, neither giving nor taking quarter.

"That in the growing and increasing influence of the slave power, we see abundant need and imperative demand for the renewed zeal and energy of philanthropists, or the day will soon come when the North and the South, the blacks and the whites, will be subjects of a common and hopeless lot—victims alike of slavery which knows no parallel.

"That all religious, moral, or God-fearing persons should, in all cases, boldly obey God rather than man, and suffer rather than commit a known sin.

"That the leading professedly Christian churches of America, by fellowshiping with slaveholders and their abettors, by refusing to make slaveholding a disciplinable offence, or to take any steps to relieve themselves from the support of slavery, have and still are most effectually sustaining that towering system of iniquity—American slavery."

The following resolutions, offered by E. B. Crocker, were considered separately, and, after discussion, unanimously adopted:—

"That such churches, possessing as they do an immense moral and religious power in this country, could, in a short period of time, by a properly directed system of action, effect the entire abolition of slavery, and they are therefore responsible for its continuance.

"That the individual members of such churches are responsible, each in proportion to the extent of his Christian influence, for such support of slavery, and becomes thereby a participator in this great sin.

"That we further recommend the withdrawal of all support of the benevolent institutions that are not openly and avowedly opposed to slavery, and to support liberally such Christian benevolent institutions as faithfully oppose this system.

"That we earnestly enjoin a zealous and continued effort to prevent the adoption by the people of that clause of the Constitution in relation to coloured people, ordered to be separately voted upon, as most inhuman, unjust, and unchristian."

On motion, a committee was appointed for calling similar Conventions throughout the State. The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

#### REV. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, D.D.

Those who have heretofore doubted the correctness of our statement, (says the *New York Independent*), because it seemed too savage to be credited, that the able and excellent pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church is a slave, and has, for a long time, been separated from his congregation and detained in Great Britain, through apprehension of being reduced to bondage by the operation of the atrocious Fugitive Slave Law, will soon have their doubts removed by official evidence. A gentleman from Hartford (where Dr. Pennington was formerly settled as pastor) called at this office the other day, in order to show us the truly American curiosity of "A Bill of Sale of a Doctor of Divinity."

"The passage of the late Fugitive Slave Law," says Mr. Hooker, who was instrumental in obtaining his freedom, "found Mr. P. in Scotland; and the arrests of fugitives under it, of which he received frequent intelligence, filled him with new apprehensions as to his own fate on his return to New York—then immediately contemplated—particularly as he had made the fact public in England that he was a fugitive slave. In these circumstances he wrote to me for my advice, as to the risk he would incur by returning, and I advised him to stay where he was for the present. Soon after, some friends of his, in the village of Dunse, in Berwickshire, determined to take the matter in hand, and raise the necessary funds to secure his freedom, whatever might be the amount required, and appointed a committee to correspond with me on the subject. This was some four or five months ago, and I have since that time been negotiating with the administrator of Mr. Tilghman, until an arrangement was made for his purchase for the sum of 150 dollars. The administrator having no power to manumit, it was necessary for him to sell him to a third person, and for the vendee to execute the deed of manumission. I accordingly directed the bill of sale to be made to me. The money was remitted, and I have to-day received the bill of sale making over James Pembroke to me as my own property for ever, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

"I remarked at the opening of my letter, that Dr. P. was in 'a fair way of becoming a man.' He is not yet completely one. The title to him still rests in me, and it remains for me, by deed under my hand and seal, to 'create him a peer of the realm.' I shall, however, defer the execution of this instrument for half an hour, till I have walked up and down the whole length of Main-street, to see how it seems to be a slaveholder, especially to own a Doctor of Divinity. Possibly, during the walk

I may change my mind, and think it best to send him to a sugar plantation.

"P. S. I have returned from my walk. The deed is executed. Jim Pembroke is merged in Rev. Dr. Pennington. The slave is free—the chattel is a man!"

#### Miscellanea.

THE DAHOMIANS AND THE ABBEOKUTANS.—In our last number we gave the particulars of a terrible conflict which had taken place between these people, provoked, however, by the King of Dahomy, whose lust for conquest and its fruits leads him to wage his exterminating warfare against any who may appear unable to resist his well-trained warriors. However much we may lament and deprecate these exhibitions of cruelty and death, we cannot help rejoicing at the knowledge that success has not crowned the efforts of a tyrant, whose chief object in war-making is, to obtain victims to offer in exchange for the produce of the more cruel and wretched slave-trader. The following additional facts are taken from the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*.

"The missionaries have been diligently occupied in endeavouring to mitigate, so far as it was possible for them to do so, the horrors of war, and causing the lives of the prisoners to be spared.

"Mingled feelings will be produced in the minds of our readers by the perusal of these accounts—thankfulness for the repulse of the Dahomians; sorrow that it has been of necessity accompanied by such loss of human life. The Egbaras have done their duty. They have nobly and valiantly resisted a ferocious slave-dealing tyrant, who, if his troops had been successful, would have shown no mercy. The combatants who fell on the field of battle would have been as nothing when compared with the wholesale slaughter which would have taken place, if Abbeokuta, like Okeodan, had become the prey of Gezo. It were earnestly to be wished that the severe chastisement inflicted on this cruel nation, of whom probably not fewer than 3,000 have been killed—more than 1,200 were counted around the walls of Abbeokuta—and 1,000 taken prisoners, might induce them to cease from their slave-hunts, and afford opportunity for the commencement among them of missionary work, and the setting forth of that Saviour who 'shall speak peace unto the heathen, and whose dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the earth.' But the following paragraph from a more recent letter of the Rev. C. A. Gollmer, dated March 20, renders it doubtful whether Gezo will not renew his attack on Abbeokuta:—

"Information has reached me this morning that the king of Dahomey is stationed at Ifain, half-way between Abomy and Abbeokuta, and that he has sent for a reinforcement of troops. It is reported also, that he has asked the king of Ashanti to assist him to destroy Abbeokuta in his second attack, which he contemplates making shortly. I have just communicated this to the ships of war: they will know what can be done. It is impossible to say how far these many reports are true; but we feel we cannot be too cautious, and 'prevention is better than cure.' I have communicated the particulars about this war and Badagry to the Consul. Kosoko is trying hard to get rid of the English, as he thinks we are the cause of the suppression of the slave-trade."

"We desire to recommend our missionaries, their families, and the rising prospects of our mission at Abbeokuta, to the earnest prayers of our Christian friends."

RETURN OF THE COOLIES FROM TRINIDAD.—There is at present in the Victoria Harbour, Greenock, a scene of considerable interest and attraction. The ship, *Eliza Stewart*, of that port, Captain Henderson, commander, just arrived from Trinidad, has on board a party of return Coolies, natives of Benares, in India, who, five years ago, emigrated from Calcutta to Trinidad, to work as labourers on the sugar estates of that island. After serving their specified time, and acquiring, by their industry and good conduct, considerable sums of money, they are now on their return to their native country. The party consists of sixteen men, four women—the wives of their respective husbands—and two children.

ENGAGEMENT WITH A SLAVER.—By advices from the *Thetis*, 38, Captain A. L. Kuper, we learn that she was at Monte Video on the 24th of May. She left Rio Janeiro for that place on Good Friday (April 18), and whilst on her passage down, sighted a clipper vessel, showing Portuguese colours at the main, and Yankee at the fore, proving to be a slaver mounting no less than twenty guns. She was on the weather-bow of the *Thetis*, lying on the port tack, and on the *Thetis* firing her bow guns did not heave to. "We," says our informant, "then gave her our starboard broadside, which she returned by her own, carrying away our rigging in some places. Another broadside from the *Thetis* set her on fire, and we had only time to save the remainder of her crew, of which fourteen had been killed and six wounded. We had four killed and fourteen wounded."

—*Portsmouth paper*.